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John McLaughlin
IRAN AND THE GOP

NATIONAL REVIEW

Reagan's Suicide Pact

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- Joseph Sobran on the Liberal Wit of Robert Lekachman •
- Samuel Francis and Helle Bering-Jensen on Spies, Traitors, and Naïfs •
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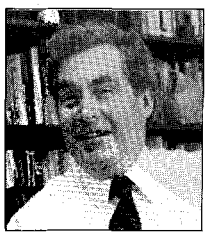
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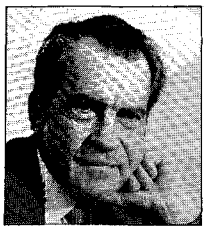
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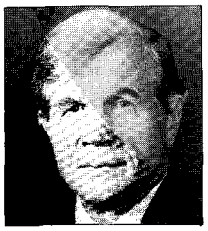
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Cover design by Charles Bork
Cover art by Mary Beyt

NATIONAL REVIEW (ISSN: 0028-0038) is published bi-weekly, except for the first issue in January, by National Review, Inc., at 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. and additional mailing offices. © National Review, Inc., 1987. Address all editorial mail, manuscripts, letters to the editors, etc. to Editorial Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Address all subscription mail orders, changes of address, undeliverable copies, etc. to Circulation Dept., NATIONAL REVIEW, 150 East 35th Street, New York, N.Y. 10016. Adjustment requests should be accompanied by a current mailing label or facsimile. Direct all display advertising questions to The Leadership Network at 212-684-5500.

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Issues of the Information Age:

The paradox of power.

The Information Age, for all its potential, has brought with it a new kind of problem. Often, the machines that contribute so much to the flood of information do little to help most of us cope with it. They are difficult to use, rigid in their demands, almost arrogant in their inability to work with any but their own kind. They are the muscle-bound tools of specialists.

In our view, the problem is not that the machines are too powerful for the rest of us. They are not powerful enough.

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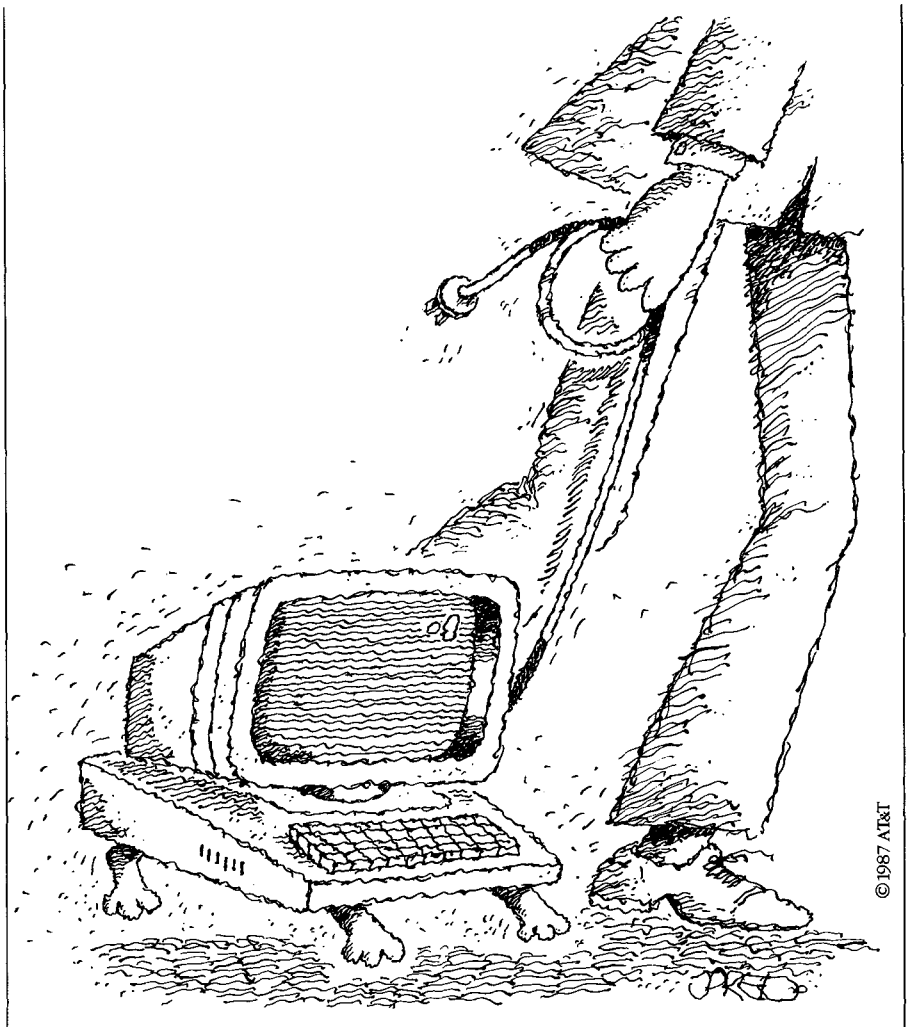

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LETTERS

Who's 'We,' Kemosabe?

Funny how the American Indian, that living paradigm of unthinking earth-first environmentalism, should be free to ignore hunting seasons and even normal etiquette toward endangered species ["America's Apartheid," by Ted Williams, May 8].

Unfortunately, love of nature is like *People* magazine—a part of everyday life. So is *Rolling Stone* (like *People*, that is). See *Stone*'s fearless leftist politico, William Greider, visit the Sioux tribe of Pine Ridge, South Dakota. In *Stone*'s May 7 issue, he applauds the tribe's rejection of assimilation and adopts its cause of reclaiming the Black Hills and restoring the land to its "rightful owners." Democratic Senators Bill Bradley of New Jersey and Daniel Inouye of Hawaii are co-sponsoring a bill, S-705, that would establish a Sioux National Park co-managed by tribal governments and federal agencies.

Stone, like most people, acknowledges all of *NR*'s points about the futility of such a Sixties Indian policy. Nonetheless it persists in hippie tripping (Greider participates in a ceremony that calls forth spirits from the darkness of a tepee filled with steam).

Given that, it's not surprising that *Stone* missed an obvious point—but it is surprising that *NR* missed it, too: namely, the striking parallel between the alcoholism and suicide rate on Indian reservations and the similar problems inherent in the cherished European welfare states, like Sweden.

Maurice Heekun
Albuquerque, N.M.

Bio-Feedback

Maggie Gallagher reaches the right conclusions in her article on surrogate motherhood (she's against it), but for the wrong reasons ["Womb to Let," April 24]. Following George Gilder's lead, she argues that the mother-child dyad is the primary unit of society and should be given precedence over the claims of the father, whether insemination takes place through modern technology or the old-fashioned way. The reason? Because mothers have it all over fathers when it comes to their relative contribution to reproduction. Women bear babies for nine months, experience childbirth, and then nurse for another year or so, whereas men can in one brief act inseminate and thereafter disappear. (Today they need only hand the clinic a bit of semen in a cup.) The mother-child bond is biologically based, the "bedrock" of society; fatherhood is, by contrast, a mere "cultural contrivance."

Which shows the mischief of any argument that takes biology as its bottom line. Miss Gallagher ends up completely ignoring the father's rights and responsibilities: By the end of the article, the surrogate mother's right to keep the child has become universalized to "the right to your own children," as though the baby were not also some father's child. You could scarcely come up with a more open invitation to men to walk away from their family responsibilities.

The ethics of surrogate motherhood can't be grounded on reproductive biology. Biology gives us data on what we are, not conclusions on how we ought to be.

Nancy R. Pearcey
Toronto, Ont.

Please, No David Lettermen

I was surprised and disappointed by this sentence in your otherwise engaging editorial, "Thou Shalt Not Smirk" [April 24]: "Yes, some of the TV evangelists are so glitzy and vulgar that it's hard to imagine them offering spiritual sustenance to anyone except maybe lonely souls who live in trailer parks and get their news from the *National Enquirer*."

I am not a lonely soul, do not live in a trailer park, do not read the *National Enquirer*, and am not an evangelist; but your reference helps to perpetuate a degrading cliché, if not to create one. Perhaps it was just smart-aleck, but it was not accurate. Back to standards, please.

Wesley McCune
Washington, D.C.

Moving Right

Don Feder's "The Kosher Majority" [April 10] was certainly a most interesting and informative article. Overall I agree with the main thrust of his essay in regard to the Orthodox movement in Judaism.

However, as a member of the Jewish community who is affiliated with the Conservative rather than the Orthodox movement, I question Feder's conclusion that secular Jews and the Right do not

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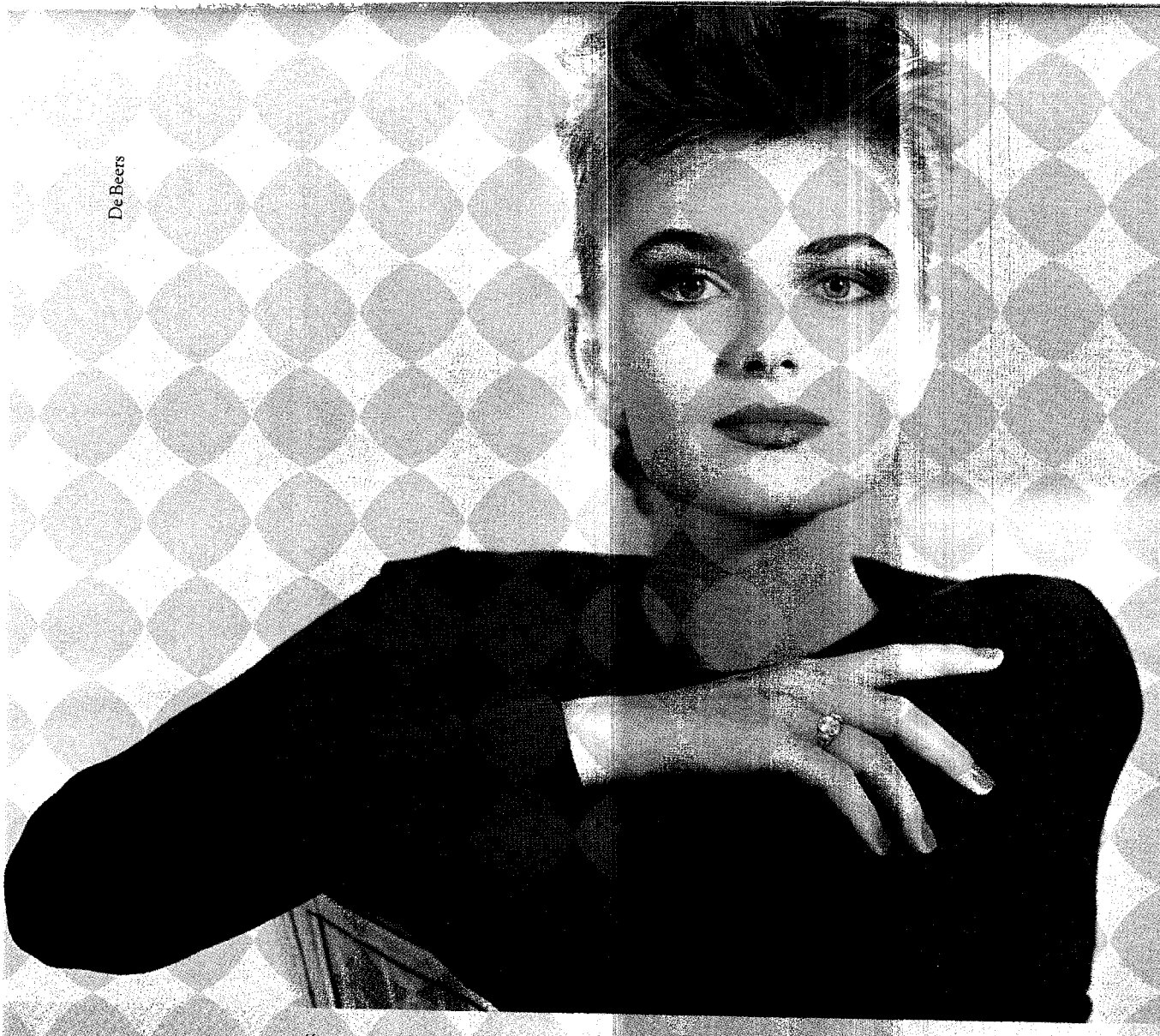
De Beers



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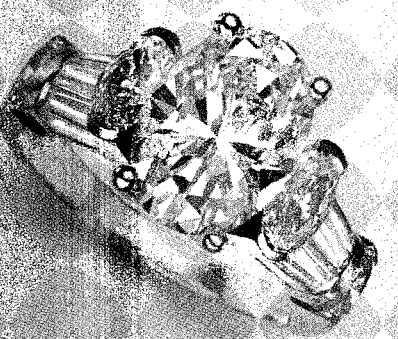

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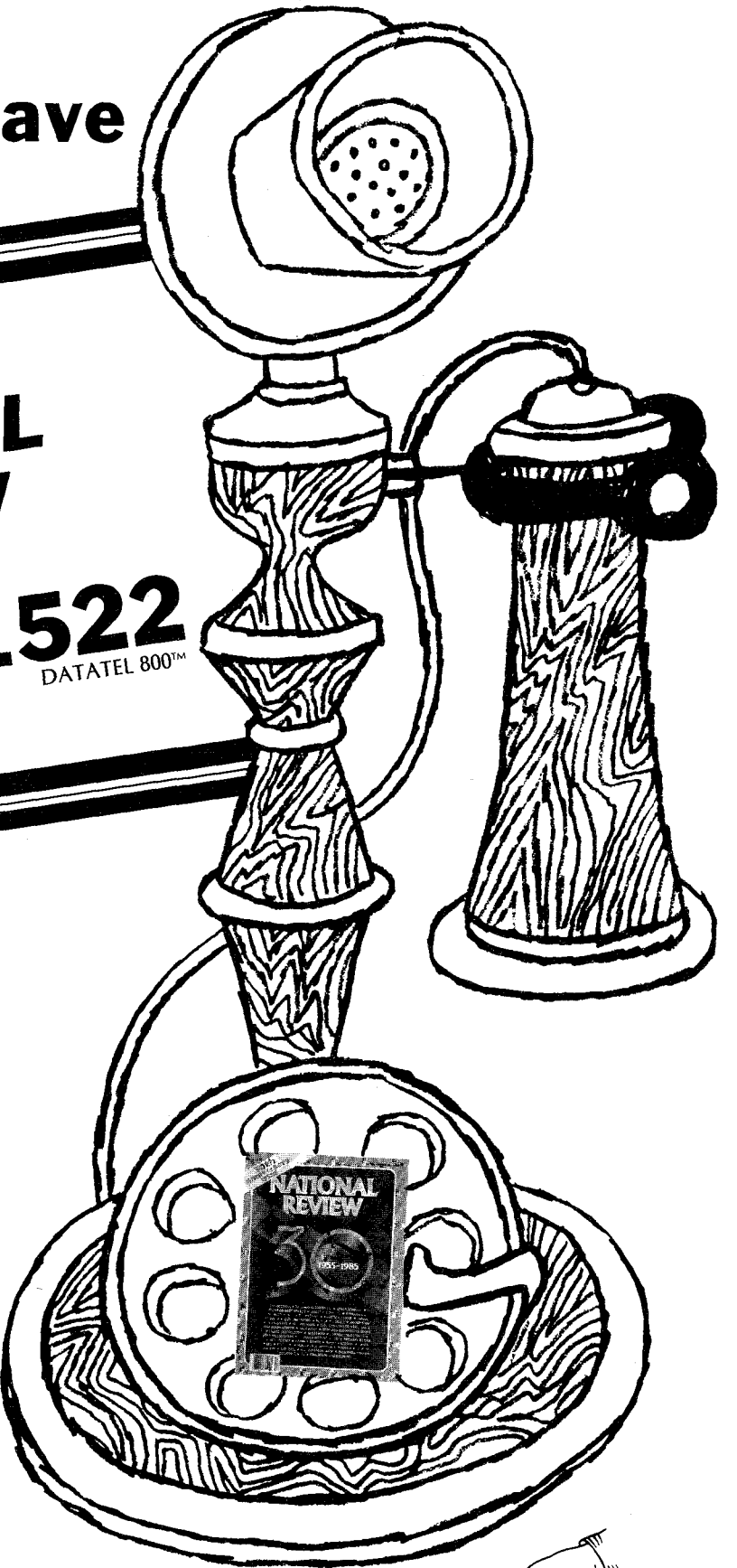

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have social issues in common. Traditionally, many Jewish communities identified themselves with the Democratic Party and liberalism, because these were the instruments for eliminating anti-Semitism and other forms of religious and racial bias that were once commonplace in our society. Under present circumstances, however, an increasing number of Jews from all movements identify themselves with political conservatism. This alliance is growing stronger for the very reasons Feder points out: That is, family life, education, morality, and a high esteem for the virtue of order are strict tenets of Judaism and the Jewish way of life. These principles are basic to all Jewish social life, not just the Orthodox.

Feder notes that President Reagan received less than 40 per cent of the Jewish vote in 1984. I'll wager that in smaller cities in more conservative regions, such as the Southeast, this percentage was substantially higher. In my opinion, the 1988 elections will reveal an even greater number of Jewish Republicans, particularly if the Democratic Party is unable to cast away its identification with its increasingly unholy alliances.

Frederic C. Spector, DPM
Savannah, Ga.

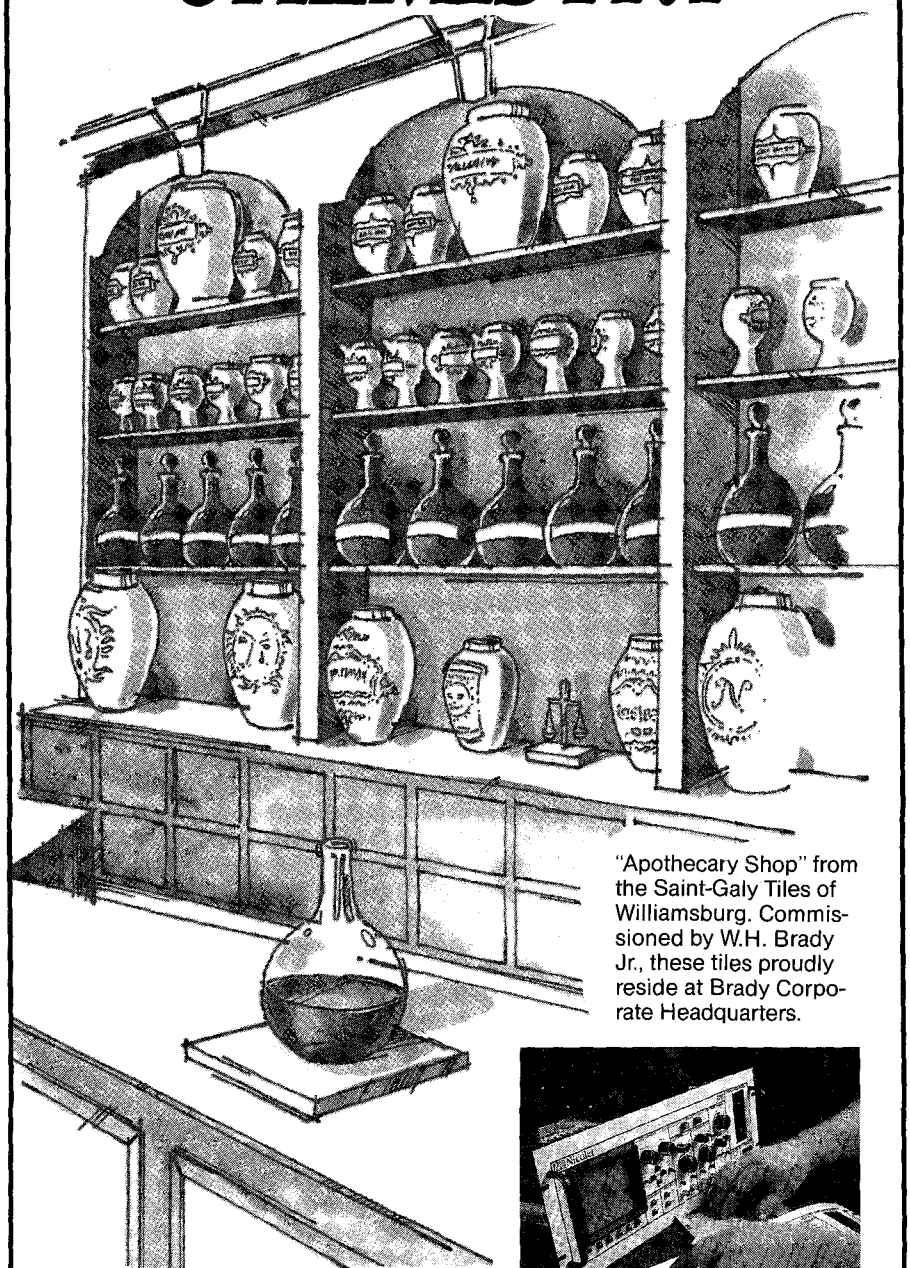
From Washington Experts

John McLaughlin has been spending too much time listening to so-called experts on Southern politics who firmly plant themselves in the political cesspool of the nation, i.e., Washington, D.C. What McLaughlin seems not to realize is that "Super Tuesday" ["Super Tuesday, Super Mistake," April 24] is a potential watershed for Republican hopes to keep control of the White House in 1988. The Democrats bring their totally out-of-touch candidates before potential Southern voters, the Republican Party duly parades the political unreality of these office-seekers before the not-so-naïve voters, and massive turnouts occur at Republican polls, thereby boosting efforts of Republican candidates to capture state and local offices, the seedbeds for future national-election victories.

A candidate doesn't have to be of Southern origin to attract the votes of Southerners. But if it's the likes of Michael Dukakis, Richard Gephardt, or Gary Hart, then, as we say, that dog "just won't hunt." Sorry, Mr. McLaughlin, but we didn't just fall off the proverbial turnip truck, regardless of what your nameless "experts" in Washington tell you.

Edward Lee McIntosh
Houston, Tex.

CHEMISTRY



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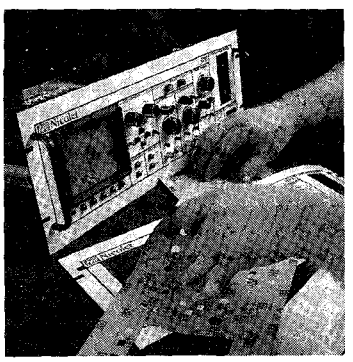

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Voices in the wilderness?

In recent months, three separate and authoritative reports—by the Department of Energy, the National Petroleum Council, and the American Petroleum Institute—all reached similar conclusions. And all three sounded similar warnings—warnings of the sort we have been voicing in this space and elsewhere for the past year. We've argued, as did the reports, that America may have to pay a stiff price tomorrow for the benefits of low-cost oil today. We've argued, as did the reports, that the U.S. should take whatever reasonable steps possible to encourage production of America's domestic energy resources. And we concluded that unless government acted now, the 1990s could bring a replay of the 1970s, with its "oil shocks," "energy crises," and spiraling prices.

DOE, the NPC, and the API all noted that U.S. oil demand has been rising, and production has been falling. During 1986, Americans used about 500,000 barrels of oil more each day than they did the year before. Imports climbed by about a million barrels a day. Last year, Americans imported a net 32 percent of the oil they used. For perspective, at the time of the 1973 crisis, the net import level was 35 percent, and in 1979 it was 43 percent.

The reports mentioned several options for America, without making firm recommendations. We'd like to go further, and reiterate policies we've urged before. And we'd like to reiterate a warning: An oil-import fee is no solution. While such a fee would make it easier for parts of our industry to weather today's economic uncertainty, the price is simply too high. An import fee would saddle American manufacturers and farmers with uncompetitive energy costs, and render them less able to be effective in world markets. This could, in the long run, cost America more jobs than it would save. Trade barriers, particularly for oil, are counterproductive for another reason. The U.S. will always have to import some, and should therefore encourage unrestricted trade in this vital commodity.

Just as we're against an import fee, here's what we're for:

● Decontrol the price of natural gas. While the Federal Energy Regulatory Commission recently approved some higher ceiling prices, about half the natural gas being sold today is still under price controls. Decontrol would give the petroleum industry a lift. The current natural gas surplus will disappear well before the oil glut, but many easy-to-produce gas resources are being neglected. Given the proper incentive, they would be produced—without triggering major price hikes.

● Repeal the "windfall profits" tax. It isn't producing any revenue now anyhow, since oil is selling below its trigger prices. Repeal would signal the domestic industry that if it invests in exploration and production, it will get to keep a fairer share of any future rewards. Similarly, Congress should realize that the oil industry simply can't afford to be singled out for any more special taxes like the Superfund levy, which calls for a handful of industries to shoulder a society-wide problem.

● Continue filling the Strategic Petroleum Reserve. It's an excellent insurance policy—and like most insurance, we hope we'll never need it, but it's nice to know it's there. Besides, America bought a lot of oil for the SPR at $30 a barrel, and at today's prices the government can take advantage of a relative bargain.

● Open up federal lands for petroleum exploration. We've been saying for well over 10 years now that oil and gas production and a clean environment are not mutually exclusive. The waters off the California coast and portions of Alaska, for example, should be explored in a responsible way, primarily because drilling is the only way to learn if the sizable petroleum deposits believed to be there really exist. And the industry's excellent environmental track record justifies the risk.

● The conservation ethic should remain part of America's consciousness. Oil remains a finite resource, too precious to waste, and we shouldn't throw away the gains we've already made through measures like insulation and fuel-efficiency.

As we said, we've been making these arguments for some time now, and they've been bolstered by the three recent reports. We fervently wish that we don't have to repeat them in 1992. We hope, in short, that all the voices sounding alarms today aren't merely voices crying in the wilderness.

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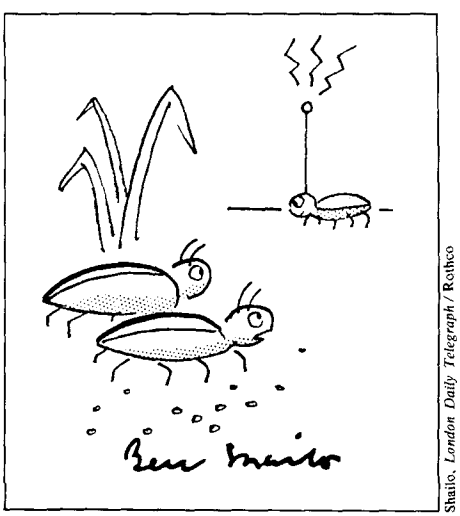
FOR THE RECORD

Just where does Democratic frontrunner **Gary Hart** stand ideologically? Political analyst **Kevin Phillips** points out that scattered polls in the conservative South, in California, and among evangelicals show Hart to be favorite candidate of conservative Democrats. This despite Hart's background: Mobilization for Peace in Sixties, **McGovern** 1972 campaign manager, most liberal voting record of any senator in the last Congress. . . . *Human Events* notes that Hart's chief advisor on Soviet Union is Princeton Prof. **Stephen F. Cohen**, a regular contributor to *The Nation*; his domestic advisors include **Ralph Nader** protégé **Mark Green** and **Tom Hayden**. . . . Recent polls show Hart well ahead of Democratic field except in Massachusetts, where **Michael Dukakis** trails him by just three points (41 to 38). . . . **David Broder**'s educated guess, in **Stuart Rothenberg**'s *The Political Report*, is that "the final four [in Iowa, New Hampshire] will not consist of the four with the highest ratings at this point," i.e., Hart and **Jesse Jackson** among Democrats, **George Bush** and **Bob Dole** among Republicans. . . . Newish entry in Democratic lists, Sen. **Albert Gore Jr.**, has a few trumps: For last year and a half he has been a regular on **Ted Turner**'s CNN News; **John Seigenthaler**, his former boss on *Nashville Tennessean*, is now Editorial Director of *USA Today*.

Paul Laxalt made it official last week: He will run for President, a blow to the **Jack Kemp** and **Pat Robertson** campaigns. How big a blow remains to be seen. Laxalt starts off with heavyweights on his side: former White House staffers **Lyn Nofziger** and **Richard Williamson**, White House pollster **Richard Wirthlin**, and former Treasurer of the United States **Angela Buchanan**, sister of **Pat Buchanan**. . . . Right now in the polls (NBC) the standings are Bush 31, Dole 25, Kemp moving up to 12, **Al Haig** and Robertson trailing with 4 per cent. Too early for Laxalt to figure. . . . At recent New York Conservative Party dinner, former UN Ambassador **Jeane Kirkpatrick** indicated she might be interested in vice-presidential bid. Her favorite candidates are Kemp and Laxalt, in that order. She's "not too crazy about" Bob Dole. . . . The only candidates GOP paininthenneck **Lowell Weicker** seems to like are Democrats: "I think Hart would do well as President. Yes I do." Weicker regrets that **Mario Cuomo** has taken himself out of race. On Dole: "An ineffective Majority Leader." On Kemp: "I can give no reason why he is even considered a candidate."

AFL-CIO President **Lane Kirkland** called on organized labor not to join the Communist-orchestrated peace march on Washington and Langley April 25/27. Among other things, said Kirkland, the marchers opposed further aid to the democratically elected governments of El Salvador, Guatemala, and Honduras. . . . U.S. Newspaper Guild was less choosy. Said Guild Director of Information **David Eisen**, when told march was co-sponsored by CPUSA: "If we're going to get off anything the Communist Party endorses, that would be a strange way to conduct your business." . . . **David Brower**, who was thrown off Sierra Club board some time back, is now editing the *Earth Island Journal*, a radical environmentalist journal that, among other things, espouses abortion "on feminist and environmental grounds." . . . Another of those polls of high-school students shows that though they may not know much history they are far from illiterate on minority issues. Thirty per cent of the kids tested associated **FDR** with the Vietnam War; 23 per cent thought **Stalin** was German; 10 per cent thought **Peter Ustinov** was a Russian Revolutionary leader. But nearly 100 per cent correctly identified **Martin Luther King Jr.**, and 90 per cent knew **Susan B. Anthony** had something to do with women's suffrage.



Shalio, *London Daily Telegraph*/Rothco

"Off to the American Embassy."

Honors time: Former Ambassador to England **Anne Armstrong** was one of this year's Medal of Freedom awardees. . . . *Chicago Tribune* and *NR* cartoonist **Jeff MacNelly** got the Overseas Press Club award for best foreign cartoon of the year. . . . *NR* contributor **Charles Burton Marshall** received Doctor of Humane Letters degree from Johns Hopkins on Founders' Day. . . . *NR* contributor **Forrest McDonald**, of the University of Alabama, has been chosen by National Endowment for the Humanities to give the 16th annual **Jefferson** Lecture in Washington, May 6. . . . Republican **Tom Banjanin** has introduced a resolution in Florida State House of Representatives endorsing "a viable satellite space defense shield" for United States. Similar resolutions have been passed in Utah, New Mexico. . . . The Oregon Citizens Alliance (P.O. Box 1419, Klamath Falls, Ore. 97601) hopes, in the words of Executive Director **Lon T. Mabon**, "to turn the state around from a liberal bastion into a conservative lighthouse." It has incorporated remnants of the **Joe Lutz** for Senator and **Betty Freauf** for Governor campaigns.

Interior Secretary **Don Hodel** is wearing a lapel button that says: "If Gary Hart is the answer, it must have been a very silly question."

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THE WEEK

☐ Soviet authorities heatedly denied that any building materials were accidentally mixed in with the surveillance gear from which the U.S. Embassy in Moscow is being constructed.

☐ We have no trouble believing that Kurt Waldheim is a moral chameleon who readily takes on the coloration of his environment, whether as Nazi functionary, UN Secretary General, or president of Austria. But since he holds the latter position at the moment, to bar him from our shores is inevitably to affront the people of Austria. The same action, after all, could be taken against other heads of state who either have engaged in terrorism in the past or are busy bloodying their hands even now. To single out the head of a friendly and peaceful government is a priggish gesture, especially since it's so exclusively a gesture, of no practical advantage. Austria has recalled its ambassador. The U.S. has wounded another friend.

☐ A year after Chernobyl, the main effect on the world nuclear-power industry has been a shift to light-water reactors—the kind developed and used in the United States. Japan is ordering two advanced versions, in cooperation with General Electric and Westinghouse; the Japanese plan to build one hundred new reactors, mostly light-water, by 2030. Britain has approved construction of its first light-water unit. The Soviet Union, understandably, is also switching designs and going light-water. The reactors are popular everywhere, in short, except in the country where one such released some radiation eight years ago, killing nobody and nothing, except the progress of the American nuclear-power industry.

☐ All right. Stanford doesn't want the Reagan collection. Forget about its research value: The faculty thinks it would compromise the "independence" of the university, get that. Harvard wouldn't give Reagan an honorary degree, and forget about the numerous garbage collectors it has bestowed them on, including Tip O'Neill. Duke University, recent host to a hundred "Marxist scholars," doesn't want the Nixon papers. Brooklyn College is withholding an honorary degree from the local Catholic bishop because he opposes abortion, which it is his duty to do. Oxford has refused to honor Margaret Thatcher. You get the idea. These places are pure concentrates of mindlessness.

☐ Well, the great Bernhard Goetz trial at last gets under way, after more than two years, a time lapse symbolic of the gridlock in our criminal-justice system. In legal terms the issue is whether shooting the four black prospective muggers was appropriate or excessive. But the case in its symbolism is perhaps the most important one since the Hiss affair. What it relentlessly brings into the open is the fact that marauding youths have turned the streets and subways of New York into a jungle. From this gross fact polite opinion averts its gaze. But several of the Goetz jurors have themselves been victims of street crime.

☐ THE USE AND ABUSE OF RACE (cont'd). Kansas City —Twenty-five black youths attacked nine white college students. The police "misplaced" the students' report and didn't get started on the case for days. The *Kansas City Star* casually mentioned the story on page three and didn't admit the attackers were black until well into paragraph four. The victims refused police medical treatment, but were later taken to hospitals by friends. Meanwhile, in Virginia, a woman who claimed she was black in a 1983 race-discrimination case against Suffolk officials is now suing Norfolk, claiming she was discriminated against because she is white. Finally, in the wake of Al Campanis's sacking, a letter to the editor in the *New York Post* pointed out some poignant Crow Jim: Pete Rose of the Cincinnati Reds once reasoned that his club beat the Red Sox in the 1975 World Series

The Gathering Storm

Like Greeks emoting on a stage,
  Unmindful of the chorus,
Which warns, approaching thunderheads
  Are likely to be porous,
The candidates recite their lines,
  While, in Japan, the dollar
Sinks lower than a businessman
  With ring around the collar.

W. H. VON DREELE

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because the Sox were too white: They didn't have enough blacks or Dominicans. We'll keep you posted.

☐ Los Angeles city officials have announced that they may consider the telling of AIDS jokes grounds for prosecution on charges of discrimination. "The whole purpose," says a deputy city attorney, "is to protect people from being treated wrongly based on misperceptions of a whole group." So much for the fiction that AIDS is *everybody's* disease. And note the presumption that some "group" is being *mis*perceived. A new wrinkle in L.A. law: Perception Police. "Chief, send a car to Hollywood and Vine. There's been a stereotyping incident. Sounds like Campanis again."

☐ "Soviet occupation troops have set afire caves filled with hundreds of frightened villagers, they have employed chemical and biological weapons outlawed by international arms-control agreements, they have deliberately blown the hands off children by distributing bombs that look like toys, and they have abducted ten-year-olds from their parents and sent them to the Soviet Union for training as spies and for indoctrination in Marxist-Leninist principles." So wrote Michael Johns in an article in *Policy Review*, printed in the *Washington Times*. Bum rap, replied M. Sharif Yaquobi, Third Secretary at the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan's embassy in Washington, D.C. Afghanistan's "trusted friend, the Soviet Union," would never do such things, Yaquobi says, and Johns "distorts the humanitarian efforts being made by the Soviet Union and other friendly and socialist states." Well, one million Afghans, we learn, have been killed, five million have fled, and 120,000 Soviet troops are still there. If the Soviet Union is a trusted friend, Afghanistan doesn't need an enemy.

☐ Sri Lanka has two important assets: its fabulous beaches and its strategic harbor. Located at the tip of India, the little island could base a fleet capable of dominating the Indian Ocean. Marxist Tamil guerrillas—recently responsible for the roadside massacre of 127 bus passengers and for a bomb that killed 110 people at a bus terminal in Colombo, the capital—threaten the country's stability. Since Sri Lanka's independence from Great Britain, the Hindu Tamil minority—about 12 per cent of the total population—has endured second-class citizenship at the hands of the Buddhist Sinhalese majority. Militant Tamils are fighting for an independent state on the northeast side of the island. President Junius Jayewardene has sent the army into Tamil territory to root out the guerrillas once and for all; however, there is latent sympathy for the guerrillas among nonviolent Tamils. Jayewardene has some fence-mending to do.

☐ It's been years since we ran a story as pleasant as this one, and longer since we took any scientific theories on human prehistory without a whole bottle of salt tablets. But now science has advanced a powerful thesis as to why our remote ancestors abandoned the hunting/gathering life and adopted the more demanding life of farming, starting us on the road to civilization. Think about it—all 75 of us might still be out there chasing rabbits and fending off saber-toothed tigers if it hadn't been for this one development. So what was it? Well, our honorable ancestors learned how to brew beer. You can't do that without a dependable source of grain and barley—no plow, no *brau*. And in case this seems farfetched, the scientists have found the grains, barley, and narrow-necked vessels needed to brew up some foamy in ancient sites. Who knows where it will all lead? *Prosit!*

☐ Thought you'd like to know that old-fashioned bare-knuckle politics has not quite disappeared. A state senator in the Midwest repeatedly held up a 65-mph-speed-limit bill by refusing to sign a conference-committee report. His superiors observed that this made the senator the most unpopular man in the state, and took appropriate steps—they simply removed him from the committee. Bill passed.

☐ One of the never-ending horror stories about American education is that many of the Harvard seniors listening to a commencement address by King Juan Carlos did not know what country he is from. That's okay, we have a lot of trouble remembering what Harvard is.

☐ "Elizabeth Taylor's Passion" perfume was introduced by herself. Spray a little behind your ears and you get the biggest rock this side of the crown jewels, the title role in *Cleopatra*, and unlimited polygamy.

☐ Police-State Notes: Authorities in Fort Worth have ordered a man to move a 68,000-pound yellow boxcar out of his backyard, on the grounds that he doesn't have a permit for it. We spent days trying to find the 68,000-pound-yellow-boxcar-permit office, and don't believe there is one. A railroad job if we ever saw one.

The Proposed Treaty

PRESIDENT REAGAN called it, in one of his weekly radio addresses, "an historic first." "There are big things in the offing," says Howard Baker; "we've got an historic opportunity." And, as always, there are the perceptual spin doctors, playing everything for its media effect: "It's always good for the President to be involved in world affairs," says Marlin Fitzwater, Reagan's new spokesman. "This demonstrates the President's sense of purpose and direction . . ."

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The impending INF deal, which Secretary Shultz went to Moscow to nudge along, coming six months after the snap Summit in Reykjavik, requires observers to come to an unfortunate conclusion: that Ronald Reagan is no longer predictable on matters of nuclear strategy. He is not predictably bad. His refusal to ditch SDI in Iceland; his steadfastness in putting the Pershings and cruises into Europe in his first term; his thirty years of hard-eyed clear-headedness on matters Soviet—all still stand on the credit side of the ledger. But the utopianism of the deal in the works, added to the disastrous unreality of the deal-that-almost-was last fall, weighs heavily on the debit side. It is simply impossible any longer to count on the Reagan Administration one way or another. From here on out, everything is a coin flip, case by case. And the flip of the coin in the present case is catastrophic.

How did we get here?

In the late Seventies, there was considerable gloominess in Europe and America about the increasing conventional strength of the Warsaw Pact. One NATO general estimated that it would take the Soviets 48 hours to get from the Fulda Gap to the Rhine. As icing on the cake, the Soviets began introducing the SS-20—an intermediate-range missile posing a nuclear threat to anything from Bavaria to Scotland.

The key word, for both conventional and nuclear forces, was *threat*. NATO planners did not seriously expect, except in the unlikeliest worst case, that anything in the Soviet armory would actually be fired. But weapons do not have to be fired in order to be used. The use the Soviets would make of their arsenal would be intimidation. The prospect of annihilation would concentrate the European mind. The possibility of a strike—coupled with the fear that the United States would not respond to a purely continental act of aggression—would give the Soviets all they wanted. What they wanted was a non-aligned Western Europe, with a neutral West Germany squatting in the center of it like, in Evan Galbraith's words, "a large, impotent Austria."

So our European allies requested an American intermediate-range presence. The Left did a full court press against it—remember the freeze campaign?—worse in Europe than here. But Reagan, and the relevant Allied leaders—particularly Margaret Thatcher and Helmut Kohl—held firm, and the missiles went in.

With, however, two bad consequences. An impression was created, first of all, that the destabilizing escalation on the Soviet side had been the SS-20s, against which our missiles were tit for tat, and not the enormous Warsaw Pact conventional edge. In the course of the debate, secondly, the Reagan Administration came up with a rhetorical countermove that has now come back to haunt it: the zero option.

The zero option allowed America to say to the peaceniks and to the confused: We have offered to get rid of all intermediate-range missiles. If the Soviets are so pacific, why don't they agree? So long as the Soviets didn't, it worked fine. But now Gorbachev has taken Reagan up on it. Hence Shultz's trip to Moscow. Hence the general euphoria. Hence the forthcoming pact.

Why is it bad? Bad enough to be called, as John Roche calls it, a "suicide pact"? In the main body of the magazine, eight analysts give their answers (all slightly different: When Representative Aspin, for instance, agrees with George Will that President Reagan's rhetoric is "absolutely" irresponsible, we should correct for partisan inflation. Similarly, Richard Nixon and Henry Kissinger, arguing for a "good deal," do not remind the reader that the last good one they came up with was the terribly flawed SALT I). But here is a summary indictment.

—Kenneth Adelman, the director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, argues in the *Washington Post* that the goal of negotiations is "to restore *status quo ante* 1976 as regards INF systems." But that was not a desirable state of affairs then, and it is less so now, given the psychological impact of the removal of our Pershing IIs. Western Europe would still face an enormous conventional disadvantage—a Warsaw Pact tank force three times the size of NATO's, "concentrated," as the London *Daily Telegraph* put it, "opposite the most tankable terrain" in central Europe. "What will we do," asks Jack Kemp, "to offset" it? What indeed?

—The agreement, when it comes, will not contribute, and the Soviets do not intend it to contribute, to a general lessening of their worldwide operations. In conversations with Foreign Minister Shevardnadze, Secretary Shultz tried to raise the issues of the Soviets' occupation of Afghanistan and their supplying of the Sandinistas. All he got from Shevardnadze was a big *nyet*. As far as the Soviets are concerned, they are in Kabul and Managua to stay.

—The agreement will contribute powerfully to the sense—a conviction among liberals, a hope among average, nonideological folk—that, at last, we and the Soviets can do business. The sense of on-going goodfellowship, as much as any actual concessions, was

Gary Hart's Bumpy Beginning

As whispered hints of hanky-panky
  Trigger voters' smirks,
No one's surprised when he gets cranky,
  Reading from his works.
This, plus the millstone of a debtor,
  Tugs upon his clout,
Suggesting, what the heck, he'd better
  Let it all hang out.

W. H. von Dreele

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what was so damaging about SALT I. It is beginning again already. "INCHING CLOSER," the *New York Times* proclaimed in "The Week in Review"; "FINALLY, AN ARMS DEAL THAT CAN WORK," chimed in *Newsweek*. It will come thicker and faster as the months pass: ". . . the President and Mr. Gorbachev clinking champagne glasses . . . thousands of members of the press fawning over every word . . ." (Seymour Weiss).

What will be the next milestone in Détente II?—the concession we must offer to keep the good times rolling? Place your money on SDI. Paul Nitze, special advisor to the President on arms control, was already laying the groundwork in the *Washington Post*: "While the research program has made great progress, it has yet to determine whether prospective defenses would be survivable. Certainly there is nothing to be gained by deploying defenses that could not survive an attack; in fact, such an action could be seriously destabilizing." If the whole project is that ambiguous, why *not* toss it on the table?

President Reagan has resisted pressures to do so in the past. But thanks to his INF deal, he will have a lot more to resist as his term winds down. For Western Europe, the lights may soon be going out again.

On with the Show

THE SENATE committee investigating the Iran-Contra affair has now granted limited immunity to former National Security Advisor John Poindexter, and the highly choreographed show is about to begin. The committee had agreed with special prosecutor Lawrence Walsh to delay the vote on immunity and not begin actual testimony until May 2, giving Walsh time to collect what evidence he could toward a prosecution. The grant of immunity will compel Poindexter to testify.

During the past several weeks, you may have noticed, there has been a remarkable absence of leaks from within the various investigations. Those "not for attribution" sources seem to have remained uncharacteristically silent, which leads to the educated guess that the choreographers of this show plan to drop whatever bricks they can come up with on Reagan's head all at once, for maximum dramatic effect.

Their great hope, undoubtedly, is that Poindexter or North or someone else will seriously implicate the President in the Contra aspect of the matter, which he has specifically denied. The goal is to damage Reagan as much as possible, thereby diminishing his ability, for example, to make his vetoes stick. Poindexter is rumored to feel "let down" by the White House; it remains to be seen whether this, if true, will affect his performance. Failing a major "revelation," there will remain the great money-chase scenario, with plenty of TV footage showing banks in Zurich and Geneva, Contra leaders living high in Florida, etc.

The Democrats originally had planned to prolong the hearings through mid October, but now are talking of a midsummer closing. That may reflect an assessment of public tolerance for a long run, or limited material, or maybe both.

But now the orchestra is tuning up, the various players are applying the last touches of TV makeup, and Dan Rather, Peter Jennings, and Tom Brokaw are into heavy Frown Practice.

The Bench and the Chair

OH, BUT they were steaming over the Supreme Court's ruling that the death penalty doesn't discriminate against blacks. Why, killers of whites get sentenced to death 11 times as often as killers of blacks! What more proof do you want?

But note the subtle evasion in the focus on the victims of crime (not usually a liberal concern): The argument used to be that black *defendants* got harsher treatment than white ones. But, as Justice Lewis Powell said for the majority, the Baldus study invoked by lawyers for the cop killer, Warren McCleskey, also found that only 4 per cent of black homicide defendants got the death penalty, as opposed to 7 per cent of white ones. So a case can be made that capital punishment discriminates against whites.

And no doubt the vast majority of those executed are single men. Does that prove a system that hates bachelors? You can find something for every taste in the smorgasbord of statistics.

This desperate argument was made by people who are against capital punishment *a priori*. A black thug who kills a white cop will naturally decide that he's against both killing and racial discrimination when it's his turn to die. And liberals who've run out of arguments against the death penalty on philosophical grounds can be expected to root around in the numerical labyrinths.

But the Court ruled sensibly, if narrowly (5 to 4). Those who oppose capital punishment are still free to mount legislative efforts to repeal it. They just have to resign themselves to taking the hard political road on this one, instead of the judicial shortcut.

Here Comes the Admiral

Mean, immunized, and mad, he comes,
While rendering fee-fi-fo-fums
In tones of such sepulchral sound,
Some West Wing types fled underground,
But surfaced quickly when, down there,
They found themselves in Ollie's lair.

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SDI Watch

A COMMITTEE OF distinguished physicists released a report on SDI a few weeks ago that said that substantial progress had been made, but that it will take ten years or more to find out whether the U.S. can shoot down Soviet ICBMs with lasers and particle beams.

The report was commissioned by the American Physical Society, the nation's leading organization of physicists, and prepared by "scientists of great eminence," as the *New York Times* pointed out, including three Nobel laureates. Its view of SDI is more pessimistic than the one held by scientists in the government, who believe that within five to seven years they can reach a decision on whether to go ahead with laser weapons and the like.

The committee of physicists considered only lasers and particle beams—the more exotic components of SDI research. It did not discuss the only kind of missile defense actually being considered by the Department of Defense for deployment in this century. This defense involves the humdrum technology of heat-seeking missiles like the Sidewinder, which are routinely used in air defense. The heat-seeking missile homes in on and collides with its quarry, attracted by the heat it emits, and destroys it by the force of the impact.

These heat-seeking missiles in their "Star Wars" form are stored in pods on satellites and are called SBKKVs, which stands for space-based kinetic kill vehicles (the name comes from the fact that the kinetic energy released in the collision "kills" the ICBM). SBKKVs received high marks recently from the Marshall Institute and in congressional testimony by General Abrahamson, director of the SDI project. They do not require any radical new developments in technology, and the annual cost for building a defense around them would be only a few per cent of the total defense budget.

When the scientists working for SDI started their labors three years ago, defenses using lasers, particle beams, and kinetic kill vehicles or heat-seeking missiles were all considered to be good possibilities. They still are. But over the course of these three years of research, it gradually became clear that the heat-seeking missile was a more mature technology than the laser or the particle beam, and was the best bet for a defense to meet the Soviet missile threat in this century.

At any rate, the report by the physicists' committee focused on lasers and particle beams, and left out SBKKVs. The result is a very impressive document, loaded with equations and written by physicists for physicists. Needless to say, it has been examined with some curiosity by the scientists at Los Alamos and Livermore whose work was the main basis of the government's faster timetable for an SDI decision.

These government scientists started from the same facts and used the same basic equations as the outsiders. It is hard to see how one group of scientists could decide that the country might have the answers on a Space Shield in as little as five years, while another group, using the same facts and equations, says it will take at least ten years. Presumably the physicists with the Nobel Prizes are right. Where did the ones working for the government go wrong?

Hoping to find out, the government physicists got copies of the report. They were prepared to be impressed, and maybe to learn something. They poked around, and they found some peculiar things.

For example, the report says that one hundred nuclear reactors would have to be put into orbit to provide "housekeeping" power for the one hundred laser-equipped satellites that would make up the heart of the defense. "Housekeeping" means operating the satellite's computers and radios, keeping its temperature right, firing the little rockets that adjust its altitude, and so on. This was an important conclusion, because the image of one hundred large chunks of radioactive material whizzing overhead is disturbing. As the *New York Times* pointed out, "It undercuts the assertion that the defense would be non-nuclear."

Well, the prediction of one hundred nuclear reactors depends on an assumption made by the committee of physicists. The assumption is that satellite housekeeping requires between 100,000 and 700,000 watts of electric power. Providing a continuous supply of that much electric power in space would certainly require nuclear reactors.

But the amount of power needed for satellite housekeeping is well known. It is not hundreds of thousands of watts, it is only a few thousand watts—one hundred times less than the report said. This relatively small amount of power—about what an average household uses—is routinely supplied to a satellite by solar cells on the sunlit side of its orbit, and by storage batteries on the dark side. Nuclear reactors are not needed.

Why did the committee of physicists make an error by a factor of one hundred on the housekeeping requirements of the laser satellites? They mention that power is needed to operate radars on the satellites,

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and indeed a microwave radar does take a lot of power—but SDI does not plan to use any power-hungry microwave radars on its satellites. And they mention the power needed to cool the laser mirrors—but those mirrors only need heavy cooling during the few minutes the actual battle lasts, and even that cooling is accomplished by circulating fluid through the mirrors, and not with electricity.

The report also mentions that *one billion* watts of power is needed to run a neutral-particle-beam weapon. That might indeed be a daunting requirement. But the neutral-particle-beam weapon is being designed to produce one-hundred-million-volt particles with a current of one-tenth of an ampere. From Physics I, watts = volts × amps, and that gives ten million watts for the power of the beam produced by this gadget. For every watt that comes out, about three watts has to be put in, which means thirty million watts of power has to be supplied to run the device.

So thirty million watts is the requirement for a particle-beam weapon. But the report by the committee of physicists says one billion watts is needed. That is roughly thirty times more than the right answer.

As with the excess factor of one hundred for housekeeping power, this error by a factor of thirty is in a direction that makes defending the U.S. against Soviet missiles seem harder than it really is and the timetable for reaching the SDI goal seem longer.

It is beginning to be clear why the committee of physicists said the U.S. would need ten years to make a decision on SDI's laser weapons. It is also clearer how two competent groups of scientists, both working with the laws of nature, could reach different conclusions. The calculations by the committee of physicists were first-class, but some of their assumptions were flawed and so, therefore, were their conclusions.

Another important finding in the committee's report—item number one in the executive summary—says that chemical lasers have only been tested at a power somewhat above 200,000 watts, and must still be beefed up by another two "orders of magnitude" to be effective as space weapons. An "order of magnitude" means a factor of ten, and two "orders of magnitude" means a factor of one hundred. A hundredfold increase in the power of a 200,000-watt laser means building a laser with a power of many millions of watts.

But SDI demonstrated a multimillion-watt laser more than a year ago, and the Soviets have had multimillion-watt lasers in their own "Star Wars" program for several years. In fact, the Soviets have a number of multimillion-watt lasers operating in their weapons labs right now. Soviet scientists claim these are for "medical research," but since they can blow a hole a foot in diameter in your body in one second, that seems unlikely.

As the physicists' report notes, "substantial progress" is being made in the field of ultra-powerful lasers. That seems to be so in the Soviet Union as well as in the United States. Why, then, the pessimism? Part of the problem seems to be that the basic assumptions in the report are biased toward a pessimistic conclusion. The remainder of the difficulty may be connected with the mentality of some research scientists. As one of their own observed recently, that mentality is like a laser beam—very penetrating, but very narrow. Scientists have always been poor at forecasting progress in practical applications of their research. Perhaps the most famous forecast, and the one most germane to SDI, was offered by Vannevar Bush, science czar for the government during World War II, who said to President Truman after the war, "People . . . have been talking about a three-thousand-mile rocket going from one continent to another carrying an atomic bomb . . . I think we can leave that out of our thinking."

Red in the Rainbow

THE POPULAR FRONT returned to Washington on April 25, as a pink cloud of 75,000 marchers descended on the capital to demand "Peace and Justice in Central America and South Africa." Dan Ellsberg was there, and Jesse Jackson, and Kenneth Blaylock of the American Federation of Government Employees, and Peter, Paul, and Mary, all of them collectively supplying the precise connotations of Peace and Justice.

Sitting this one out were such establishment labor leaders as Lane Kirkland, who objected that the demonstration went well beyond opposing U.S. intervention in Central America, to "embracing the Sandinista regime" and offering "open support to the Marxist-Leninist guerrillas in El Salvador." Why, sure. The sponsors and organizers included the Communist Party, along with the usual fronts and fellow travelers.

Which makes Jesse Jackson's participation interesting. Jackson feels impelled, as a presidential candidate aiming for mainstream support, to steer clear of the likes of Louis Farrakhan. But he's under no pressure, from the company he keeps or his own conscience, to avoid the contaminating touch of Communism. Nor has he been rebuked by those who were scandalized in 1984 by his slangy references to "Hymietown." Imagine the response if he'd accepted the participation of neo-Nazis: not even the sponsorship, just the visi-

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ble presence. It tells you something about Jackson, and about our moral monitors, that he does it, and that he gets away with it.

Jim Wright, Statesman

PUT A CONGRESSMAN in front of a TV camera, and the hot air rises to the klieg lights. American audiences know that, but what are Russians supposed to think?

House Speaker Jim Wright went on Soviet prime time while he was in Moscow to say that Soviet-American relations were better than at any time since —well, it's hard to say since when, because at one point Wright said World War II, and at another, Kerensky. (Maybe Wright thinks Kerensky fought in World War II.) Wright was wearing one of those little crossed-flag pins, Hammer & Sickle with Stars & Stripes, and offered to send one free to any Russian who wanted "a sentimental expression of our will to work together." There are, Wright admitted off camera, "obviously many things of which we disapprove," and he cited emigration.

So, there is hope. If thousands of people demonstrate for emigration for 15 years, it registers on Jim Wright's consciousness. Assign 15 years to Soviet psychiatry, and another 15 to freedom of worship, and 45 to bad harvests from bad weather, and so on, down the line, and maybe, by 2387, Congressman Wright will have a comprehensive view of Soviet reality.

Send the yokel back to Texas.

Unhealthy Insurance

IF LEGISLATION could provide everyone with the finest medical services, gourmet food, suburban estates, designer clothing, and luxurious automobiles, there would be no poor people anywhere in the world. These things may be scarce and valuable, but legislation is not. Senator Kennedy will soon introduce a bill to require employers to buy health insurance for all workers and their families. This scheme would require workers to take more of their pay in the form of one particular fringe benefit, less in wages. If trading lower wages for medical perks is what the alleged beneficiaries of the bill really wanted, they would already be seeking out the many employers who offer that sort of package. The senator's proposal is best understood as a mandatory tax shelter, reducing both wages and taxes.

Combined wages and benefits cannot possibly be increased by legislative fiat. Employers who paid more in wages and fringes than their employees added to revenues would soon be out of business; those who paid less would not be able to attract and retain skilled workers—and would also be out of business. Wages and benefits are thus set by competition for workers. Moreover, wages and benefits are always paid by consumers, not by employers. Employers can't pay more for workers unless consumers are willing and able to pay more for the goods and services those workers produce. Inflation can raise both wages and prices, measured in shrinking dollars, but only more real output per worker can raise real income per worker. To require employers to pay something extra for a perk, like health insurance, is to require them to offer either lower wages or fewer jobs. This suggests a name for Senator Kennedy's bill: "The Low-Wage, Low-Employment, Tax-Dodge, and Subsidy-to-Blue-Cross Act."

Chinese Checkers

AS DENG XIAOPING ages, it has become clear that the modest—but implicitly revolutionary—reforms he has introduced are being resisted by what the Western media are pleased to call "conservatives," by which, in the Chinese context, they mean Stalinists, who want to return to the Soviet-style central planning of half a century ago.

In selected cities the reforms have been tiny but real. In Shenyang, for example, we now see a regulated bond market and stock issues; some small shops and factories have been auctioned off; some poorly managed firms have been forced into bankruptcy; and there are plans to sell steel in the marketplace. At the same time, at the highest levels of government and Party, attacks are intensifying on "Western ideas," "bourgeois attitudes," and "money grubbing."

For Communist Party officialdom, the issue is a stark one: Is the Party going to retain its monopoly on political and economic power? The possibility of a rival center or centers of economic power arising through market economics threatens that monopoly. The introduction of economic freedom of any sort is thus agonizingly difficult.

Whether Deng has taken two steps forward and will be obliged to take only one step back remains to be seen.

Minimum Employment

THE MINIMUM WAGE is back. For some years, it had been rendered relatively innocuous by mild but cumulative inflation, so that McDonald's now typically pays much more than the minimum even for starting employees.

Nobody really believes the government can simply force some people to pay more money to others. The motives behind new congressional efforts to hike the

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Fisher, *Punch* / Rothco

"If you're such a big-shot dissident, how come you haven't been released?"

minimum wage are more serious than that. Some employers in industries that necessarily pay low wages (because they sell cheap products, like assembly-line hamburgers) are worried about competition from new rivals that might be willing to be less picky, taking risks by training marginal entry-level employees at an even lower wage. Trade unions are also worried, as always, about competition from workers who are on the outside looking in.

Those who stand to lose the most from the political influence of such anti-competitive firms and unions include young people, women who have been out of the labor force, new immigrants who are just learning English, people who seem too fat or too short, retirees seeking part-time work, and others who can't get around notorious medieval-guild restrictions on union and professional jobs. Potential competition from people who are eager to do possibly inferior work for less pay constitutes a particularly serious threat to those with government-supported monopoly privileges, such as occupational licensing or government-regulated cartels. Much better, from this point of view, to keep the kids on the street.

Defenders of a higher minimum wage rightly point out that it is impossible to support a family on the minimum wage. But that is irrelevant—very few minimum-wage workers are family heads; most of them are teenagers and other secondary workers. In any case, having no job at a higher wage is not obviously better than having a job at a lower wage. If better opportunities existed, those now working at the minimum wage would presumably have taken them. To deny low-wage job experience is to cut off the first rung on the ladder of opportunity.

Advocates of a higher minimum wage betray their insincerity by not proposing a minimum wage of $10 an hour, or $100, or $1,000. They know perfectly well that their proposal will make it most difficult for the least prepared job applicants to gain valuable work experience. That is not an accidental side effect, but the law's only real purpose. The minimum wage is obviously designed to protect holders of established privileges against disadvantaged newcomers.

'Is There a Socialist In the Hall?'

THAT WAS the headline of the story in *L'Express* on the French Socialist Party's meeting in Lille a fortnight ago to lay down the program on which the party will run in France's presidential election next year. Four years in power, followed by two years of what the French call *co-habitation* (a Socialist president sharing power with a conservative prime minister), have drained the ideological starch from French Socialism. The first four years brought on three devaluations, a stalled economy, high unemployment rates, and a recession.

The Socialist Party that emerged from Lille was hardly distinguishable from other French parties of the Left. Like the Socialists of West Germany thirty years ago, and the Socialists of Spain more recently, the Socialists of France have become social democrats.

Two weeks later, in Washington, French Finance Minister Edouard Balladur bestowed the French Legion of Honor on Paul Craig Roberts, a founding father of supply-side economics, hailing him as an "artisan of a renewal of economic science and policy, after half a century of state interventionism."

Linnas and the Long War

KARL LINNAS has been deported to the Soviet Union, to get what the Justice Department is convinced are his just deserts. But does he get them justly?

—Patrick Buchanan has suggested that Linnas and other alleged war criminals living here be tried here. But this is impossible, since the Constitution forbids *ex post facto* law.

—So the Linnases must be deported. If no third country will accept them, they must go to the country in which they committed their crimes—in Linnas's case, his native Estonia. But there is no Estonia any more, it having been ingested by Stalin according to the terms of his pact with Hitler. Beside world wars and the megadeaths of the Holocaust, Estonian freedom may seem like a small thing. Our casual indifference makes it seem smaller.

—By consigning Linnas to Soviet justice, we im-

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plicitly recognize the bona fides of a system that is as cruel and as deadly as the one for which Linnas worked, and far more dangerous.

We fought with the Soviets against Hitler on the (correct) grounds that it was a necessity of war. But how long the necessity has stretched after the war. War criminals are the least of it. We initial arms treaties every few years based on our confidence in the Soviets' truthfulness and desire for peace. We hail each new Soviet leader, confident of his desire to turn over a new leaf. We protest the most recent Estonia (say, Hungary in 1956), and the next after that, and the next after *that* . . . and do, precisely, nothing.

If Karl Linnas's acts of commission deserve an accounting, what do our acts of omission deserve?

Red-Faced in the Kremlin

TALK ABOUT coverups. That was a lulu Mikhail Gorbachev pulled a few days back when he told visiting U.S. congressmen that perhaps the United States should create autonomous areas (homelands?) for its black and other minorities. That was found deeply offensive, not to say historically illiterate, by Congressman Mickey Leland (D., Tex.) and other members of the delegation, and by much of the American black community.

But gosh, heads of state have a way of winging it, and everyone—including our State Department—was quick to explain away the statement. Georgi Arbatov first stonewalled ("It was someone's invention") and then, because Arbatov hasn't really caught on to *glasnost*, became offensive ("He doesn't interfere in your internal affairs. It's your habit to interfere in ours"). House Majority Leader Jim Wright told *Meet the Press* that "Gorbachev is not foolish" and gave the following convoluted explanation of why he had said what other people were maintaining he hadn't really said at all: "He was talking in terms of what they are trying to do in order to create more integrity for their ethnic minorities in their country."

The press apparently found the story uninteresting, even though it exposed an abysmal ignorance by Gorbachev of what America is all about. The story disappeared from our TV screens and newspapers faster than the speed of light.

NOTES & ASIDES

☐ Dear Bill:

I note that your April 10 issue includes two references to my "departure" from Senator Dole's presidential campaign as the result of a dispute with John Sears over how the campaign ought to proceed.

I'm afraid that both of your writers rely too heavily on the *New York Times* for their information—something I would not have expected of NATIONAL REVIEW.

To set the record straight I would like to let those few of your readers who might care know that the *Times*'s report of my demise was premature. I continue as Senator Dole's Senior Political Consultant and a fervent backer of his candidacy. He is a conservative, will make a great President, and I expect to be with him right up to January 20, 1989.

Moreover, I should point out that Mr. Sears is not as of this time involved in the campaign and that the "dispute" involved the management style of senior advisors to the campaign rather than the substantive approach as intimated by my good friend John McLaughlin.

Minor points to be sure, but perhaps important to some.

With best regards, I remain,

Sincerely,
David A. Keene
Alexandria, Va.

Dear David: Congratulations to you and to Senator Dole. And yes, we do rely heavily on the *New York Times* for factual material, but (let's face it), so do you, Senator Dole, and the *Encylopaedia Britannica*.
Warmest,
Bill

☐ Memo to: Our readers
From: WFB

You will have noticed, I hope, the feature we began at the first of the year under the logo "SDI Watch." We are very pleased with it. It is the result of hard analysis by our technical advisors of developments that bear on the attempt to develop a Space Shield. "SDI Watch" will sound in approximately every other issue of *NR*. The editors are greatly indebted to the scientists who are providing us with the valuable information we are publishing. This week's item is an analysis of the American Physical Society's skepticism about SDI.

☐ **Q:** Is there an *NR* "position" on the *Washington Times* affair?

A: Yes. The editorial dust-up is hugely disappointing. What is at stake is the credibility of a brilliantly edited conservative daily in the nation's capital.

When the *Washington Times* started up, after Time Inc. collapsed the *Washington Star* in 1981, there was unease on two counts. It was doubted that a first-class paper could be produced; and doubted that any enterprise sponsored by the Unification Church could be taken seriously.

It took a long time, and the arrival on the scene of the famed correspondent Arnaud de Borchgrave as

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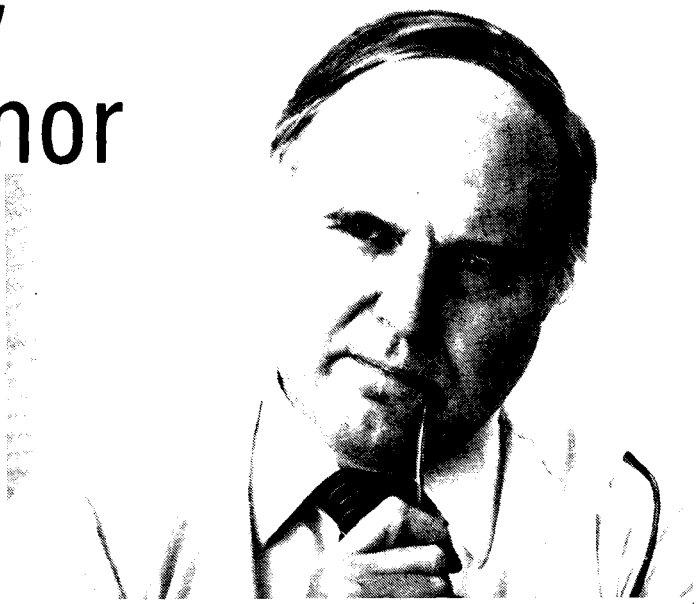

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"You asked for it, Nakasone!"

editor-in-chief, before the paper began to have day-to-day impact. It had always been a professional operation, and the cadre that ran it were editorial holdovers from the *Washington Star*. They had been guaranteed, and de Borchgrave reiterated that guarantee when he took over, that Moonie sponsorship would never translate into editorial interference.

What happened on April 14 was that the editor of the editorial page, William Cheshire—a highly respected pro who had run editorial pages in Charleston, West Virginia, and Greensboro, North Carolina—produced, with his staff, an editorial rebuking South Korea for halting the national debate on proposed constitutional changes. Arnaud de Borchgrave consulted with Sang Kook Han, a South Korean executive representing the owners, and subsequently the editorial was rewritten.

Now, both versions of the editorial in question were reasonable expressions of the conservative position. The original rebuked South Korea for not getting on with its democratic program, warning that the reaction in Congress might be severe. The second cautioned Congress—and the American people—not to get too excited over what was probably only a postponement; moreover, a postponement brought on by the fractious behavior of the opposition, which all along has refused to cooperate in an orderly democratic transition.

But the circumstances—the trip upstairs to see the owners' executive—now became critical as far as William Cheshire, David Shiflett, Michael Bonafield, and John Seiler were concerned. They turned in their resignations.

To the paper's credit, the news story on April 16 gave a full account of Cheshire's reasons for quitting. To be sure, it ended with several paragraphs quoting Arnaud de Borchgrave, who insisted that in his conversation with the owners' representative the editorial had not come up, and that the second version, drafted by de Borchgrave, was a wiser handling of the South Korean question, representing the view of the editor-in-chief.

As a matter of fact, we think this view correct. But this becomes extrinsic to the question at hand. Deep damage has been inflicted on the editorial credibility of the *Washington Times*, and that is a devastating development. It is a fine paper, full of useful information, sharp analysis, shrewd penetration of the policy implications of decisions made by Congress, the executive branch, and the judiciary. Its columnists are as fine a concentration of conservative talent as appears in any paper in the country. For the man substantially responsible for the paper's excellence to do such damage to it is on the order of eviscerating oneself with a dagger: an Oriental practice, come to think of it.

No one in Washington in his right mind who reads the *Times*, which ought to be true of everyone in Washington in his right mind, should cease now to read it because of this episode: but friends of the enterprise will need to change the subject when the question is asked, Does the *Washington Times* yield to the editorial influence of its owners?

It is perhaps appropriate to say that there is every reason why a paper should reflect the opinions of its owners. But the Moonies have the special problem—their identification in the American mind as a bizarre religious sect that tolerates practices generally deemed abominable (e.g., the mass wedding of virtual strangers). It is because the Unification Church people are smart enough to know that orthodox America takes a very long time to get used to such heterodoxies as, e.g., one finds among the Mormons and the Christian Scientists that the pledge was initially given: guaranteed, no interference with editorial independence. It will take a long while, but one hopes that, eventually, the damned spot will prove expungeable. **—WFB**

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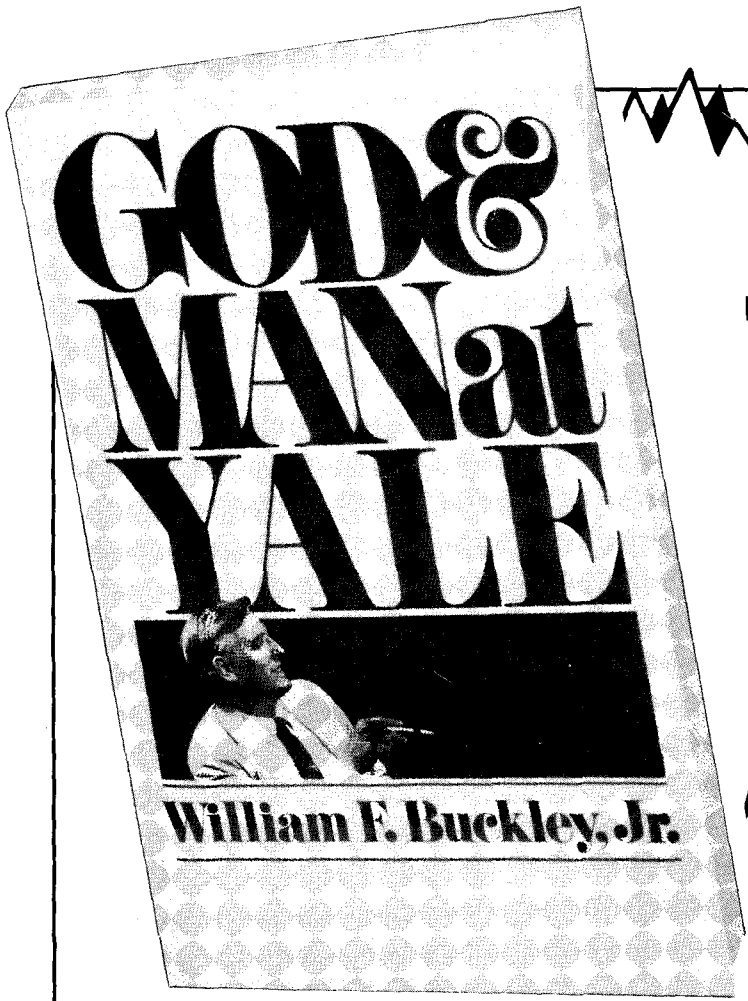

HERE'S THE BOOK THAT STARTED IT ALL!

Things have never been the same since William F. Buckley Jr.'s *God and Man at Yale* first hit the bookstands. The effect was electrifying. It became an almost overnight best-seller and vaulted its young author into national prominence. Few books have aroused such a *hostile* reaction from the liberal media—while at the same time gaining the "culprit" so many loyal fans.

Now this extraordinary book (a conservative classic) is once again available in a handsome new edition, complete and unabridged—plus a brilliant new introduction (almost a small book in itself) that updates the whole story and makes this edition even more valuable than the original.

As John Chamberlain noted at the time: "Mr. Buckley's chief sin, as this book will make plain to the discerning, is to hold certain truths to be self-evident: that the free economy is better for both the individual and the group than the 'planned' or the controlled economy; that man has a definite nature, which includes intimations of a moral and religious character . . ." Powerful stuff for the dominant liberal establishment in 1951 when the book was published—powerful stuff for America today!

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IRAN AND THE GOP

THE HOUSE-SENATE committee investigating the Iran affair convenes on May 5, ending more than two months of relative Washington reticence on the controversy. Even optimistic Reaganites admit that this revelationless reprieve has been the eye of the storm. Much has already been said about how Iran affects key players, like the President himself and the various 1988 GOP candidates, notably George Bush. But what about Iran's "macro" political impact? How does it affect the Republican Party in general?

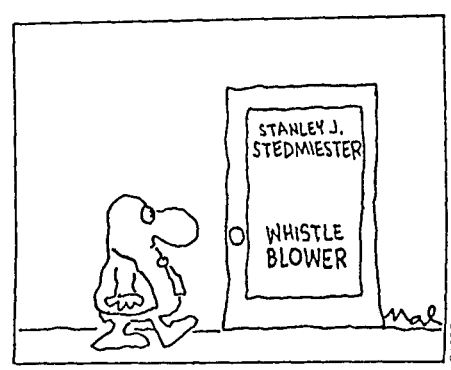
"Unfortunately," says a pollster for the White House, "the news is horrible. We see lowered enthusiasm for the GOP across the board, with Iran the controlling factor. April '87 is centuries away from October '86." The loss of support for the GOP is already disturbingly reflected in the widening party-identification gap—the number of voters adrift between the two parties—with most undecideds now leaning Democratic. White males especially are moving leftward.

Iran has harmed the GOP in two distinct areas: the reduced ability of the party to designate national candidates for 1988, and the hurried shift away from the Reagan agenda among Republicans. "Reagan is still personally beloved," says a GOP think-tanker here. "But he's lost his authority as well as his magic. Before Iran, Reagan would have been able to call the shot on who the GOP nominee would be. Now, everyone's on his own." A Republican consultant points to another downside item: "Iran has so weakened the Reagan coalition that it's now going to be hard for the GOP to recruit quality Senate and House candidates."

Effects of the Iran affair are also apparent in the overall substance of the GOP election agenda. "Before Iran," notes an aide to Richard Gephardt, "the main message of Republican candidates was 'Consolidate and go forward with the Reagan agenda.' Now it's more of a Kennedyesque 'Get the country back on track.'" The drift away from the Reagan agenda has already been shown by Congress's overrides of the President's clean-water-bill and highway-bill vetoes, two votes that might well have gone the other way if not for Iran. A Senate aide describes the mood on the Hill by reporting this vignette: Two senators —one a Democrat, one a rank-and-file Republican—recently met to talk about how to develop a "post-Reagan housing policy."

As for presidential style, "you can bet no candidate's going to advocate 'removed management,'" says an election consultant here. "You're going to see a change in leadership styles, an emphasis on substance and detail. This year, watch for the charisma of substance." All of which suggests, pundits agree, that few are going to be wrapping themselves around Ronald Reagan in 1988. What was once the great GOP campaign asset now looks value-neutral.

The Iran night is not all dark for the GOP, however. Republicans have been forced to define their own personae, rather than simply ride on Reagan's. "Frankly, I'm a bit worried that Iran may turn out to be a veiled blessing for the GOP," acknowledges a liberal here. "For six years, it was practically Reagan alone who constituted the GOP, and as long as Americans viewed him so admiringly, so idealistically, the party seemed bound to fail them when he moved on. Now Republicans can establish themselves as individuals and rebuild the party in the process." Even a depressed Republican pollster admits that "at least Iran has forced everyone to look beyond the Reagan era, to look ahead to a new GOP."



BEYOND THIS marginal boon from the Iran debacle, a more solid source of hope is the arithmetic of Republican performances in postwar presidential races. In the last four quadrennial elections, 23 states (the West plus Iowa, Illinois, Indiana, Virginia, New Jersey, Vermont, and New Hampshire) have consistently gone Republican, giving the GOP a steady 202 electoral votes as a base from which to go for the required 270. The Democrats, on the other hand, start with a base of about fifty and have a tough time building to 270, failing to break four hundred for any presidential candidate since Johnson beat Goldwater. The magnitude of the 1972, 1980, and 1984 Republican victories obscured the significance of this 150-plus Electoral College advantage, but even in contests where the popular vote is much closer, the GOP will still have a very significant Electoral College boost. While some polls suggest that the GOP base is diminishing, the vast difference in numbers will probably withstand any immediate Iran-induced erosion. What's more, Texas and Florida, two important states for the GOP in the 1988 Electoral College calculus, have been competitive for the GOP at all levels since 1980.

So, notwithstanding the current Republican doldrums, there's reason to be sanguine that the blow dealt by Iran will not be deadly. □

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NAMIBIA! NAMIBIA!

I HAVE JUST visited a country that the United Nations seems determined to ruin (not its first victim, to be sure, and probably not its last): South West Africa, now generally called Namibia.

Namibia, a country larger than Texas, has only just over one million inhabitants. Among the whites, the second largest group—after the Afrikaners—is the Germans. The German *Kaiserreich* laid the foundations of Windhoek, the capital, and one still finds shops and stores that are purely German. Germans provide the "old families" (some of noble origin), and many street names recall the colonial period: Kaiser-Strasse, Bismarck-Strasse, Bülow-Strasse, and so forth. There is a certain *Gemütlichkeit* about Windhoek that lets one forget the terrorists on the northern border.

Most of South West Africa's coloreds speak Afrikaans, as do all the Bastards. The latter are proud of their name: They too are of mixed black and Dutch stock but immigrated in covered wagons from the Cape. Their "capital" is Rehoboth, and they keep apart from and look down on the coloreds, who in turn keep their distance from the blacks. (The Bastards fought with the Germans against the Hereros from 1903 to 1907, and on the old Imperial War Monument they are listed as *Die Bastards*.)

After Germany lost the First World War, and with it its empire, Namibia became a mandated territory of the League of Nations, administered by South Africa. After the Second World War, it was claimed by the United Nations, a right of succession that has been seriously challenged. Since South Africa, for reasons of security, did not want to release South West Africa into independence, the UN revenged itself by proclaiming SWAPO, a Communist-dominated terrorist organization of Ovambo tribesmen, the legal representative of "the people of Namibia."

It would be a mistake, however, to believe that all Ovambos belong to SWAPO. I had a talk with the highly intelligent Minister of Nature Conservation, Mining, Commerce, and Tourism, Andreas Shipanga, who for 19 years was a SWAPO member and visited all the capitals in the Soviet realm until he recognized that SWAPO had become a band of murderous Bolsheviks, whereupon he "defected" and returned to his homeland. (I had another interesting talk with the Minister of Justice, Information, and Posts & Telecommunications, Jariretundu Kozonguizi, a brilliant man with a great sense of humor, who is a Herero. Warrior tribes like the Herero and the Zulu rarely fall under the spell of socialist nonsense.)

From these remarks the reader might guess that South West Africa is something in the nature of an experimental laboratory for South Africa, where apartheid is in its terminal stage. There is no Group Areas Act in Namibia, and people can live wherever they want. The only remnant of ethnic/racial segregation is in the public schools. While I was in Namibia I watched a debate in the multi-party Assembly on the desegregation of these schools: A black and a white pleaded for it, while a colored protested. The numerous, mostly denominational private schools are desegregated, but an influx of children coming straight out of the bush or the desert would drastically lower the level of the public schools. Cultural rather than racial differences are what matters, and this came out in the Assembly debate.

One must remember that the former colonies were arbitrarily cut out from vast areas without any consideration of ethnicity or language. The Ovambos live densely in the fertile north along the Angolan border; as rulers of the entire country they would hardly show much interest in the arid center and south. They are also the ones most exposed to the attacks from the SWAPO guerrillas who swarm across the border. These guerrillas are splendidly equipped (Soviet and Czech arms worth millions of dollars have been seized from them), but they are badly trained, badly fed, and badly housed, and consequently their losses are ten times those of the government troops.

Educated people in South West Africa are very much politicized. SWAPO is not suppressed in Namibia, but since desegregation, attendance at its meetings is rapidly falling off. As in South Africa, there are whites who, ideologically conditioned, sympathize with black terrorism. *The Namibian*, a leftist weekly with white editors, is a typical publication; even the conservative German daily *Allgemeine Zeitung* has a moderately leftist weekly counterpart. The Assembly, consisting of nominated members of all parties pledged to nonviolence, includes the "SWAPO Democrats."

WHAT IS Namibia's future? Certainly the UN's insistence on a referendum under UN auspices has to be resisted to the end, because the UN is not neutral, having committed itself to SWAPO. A democratic system of one man, one vote would lead to catastrophe. In his *Considerations on Representative Government*, John Stuart Mill says that "free institutions are next to impossible in a country made up of different nationalities." A multi-national state is workable if it is a monarchy, where loyalty to the dynasty is paramount (a Belgian republic is unimaginable), or if common territorial patriotism is the most potent factor, as it is in Switzerland. This problem, which South Africa also faces, can only be solved on a technocratic and elitist basis. A powerful parliament with proportional representation would spell disaster for Namibia as surely as for South Africa. □

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Reagan's Suicide Pact

From Reykjavik All Roads Led Down

John P. Roche

I WONDER IF anybody today has the creative imagination to make a film, patterned on the old Crosby-Hope classics, called *The Road to Reykjavik*. For anyone who has worked at the top levels of any presidential Administration, it was a bizarre tragicomedy. Apparently President Reagan was assured by his then in-house gurus —one Naval and one Marine—that the expedition to Iceland was the equivalent of going on a picnic at Balmoral with Queen Elizabeth II. "No serious problem, boss: You'll just charm the socks off them and then they will know you are, deep down, a nice guy who doesn't take this 'evil empire' stuff too seriously. Then later we can turn the Kampelman-Nitze types, who understand all this junk about 'throw-weight' and 'cold launch,' to say nothing of that mumbo-jumbo distinction between a missile and a 'launcher,' loose on them. Remember, 'Gorby' needs a deal."

It was a real picnic. There was no serious advance work either substantively or logistically. The details about the absence on the U.S. side even of adequate copying facilities, not to mention secure communications, are now common knowledge. Substantively, the whole affair was a setup: "Gorby's" extremely clever briefing came down to "promise them anything—and then throw in deep-sixing Star Wars as a necessary precondition for disarming."

As ex-Chief of Staff Donald Regan, who is now picking up $20,000 a throw on the lecture circuit elucidating his idiocy, reported at the time, the "shovel brigade" had quite a time cleaning up the mess into which they had got the President. Then Lieutenant Colonel Oliver North's remarkable exploits hit page one, and it became clear that from a parochial political viewpoint it was Ronald Reagan, not "Gorby," who needed a deal.

So off we went—Secretary of State George Shultz at point—on a snipe hunt for a redeeming arms-control deal, to be capped by a spectacular Summit at which the President of the United States and other top officials, who think history began the day they took office, end the nuclear threat and bring Peace in our time. Gorbachev the Reformer is different, thank God; the kind of man we can "go to the well with," as Lyndon Johnson once observed about Kosygin.

It must be refreshing to do business with a new type of leader, a modern type so unlike his bumbling predecessors, one who can go before the cameras and with obvious sincerity proclaim, "In foreign policy . . . the government is filled with the loftiness of its task—with this people, free and enjoying equal rights, to promote the preservation and consolidation of peace, a peace which the world needs today more than ever before. . . . We would in fact be happy if, through a [general] reduction of armaments, the world would make an increase in our weapons never again necessary." This warm statement was, of course, welcomed with delight by Western democratic leaders when Adolf Hitler delivered it before the Reichstag on February 1, 1933.

I hesitate to resurrect this quotation, but since no less a pontiff than James Reston has proclaimed Secretary of State Shultz's "Easter Miracle" in his *New York Times* pastoral letter on Easter Sunday, I feel one secular resurrection deserves another. Maybe the Russians have been born again as peace-lovers, but before you put your money on it, take an Afghan to lunch. In dealing with aggressive totalitarians, perhaps there is something to be said for an arms race?

So much for the preliminaries. Let us now turn to three major aspects of the current "arms control" frenzy and my reasons for suggesting that from what we know about the latest package, far from being a dramatic breakthrough to a peaceful future, it is a recipe for long-term disaster. These considerations, of course, interweave and overlap, but are sufficiently integral to merit separate analysis.

First, let us explore the impact of our negotiating "process" (a word that is rapidly becoming a mushy synonym

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'. . . What Strategy?'

On the April 22 edition of the MacNeil/Lehrer NewsHour, *remarks by U.S. arms negotiator Richard Perle were followed by reactions from three leading critics of the proposed deal to reduce the number of short- and medium-range missiles in Europe:*

CHARLAYNE HUNTER-GAULT: William Hyland is the editor of *Foreign Affairs Quarterly* and was Deputy National Security Advisor in the Ford Administration. William Jackson was Executive Director of an Arms Control Agency panel, and a Senate aide. He is now an associate professor at the Fulbright Institute at the University of Arkansas. Seymour Weiss is a former State Department official and is now a foreign-policy consultant. Starting with you first, Bill Hyland, is this a good deal?

MR. HYLAND: No, I don't think so. I'm not sure it's a horrible deal, but it's certainly a bad deal for the United States.

MRS. HUNTER-GAULT: Why? What's your major objection?

MR. HYLAND: My major objection, to begin with, is that it's unequal. As you mentioned earlier in the program, the Russians retain one hundred warheads in Asia, targeted against Japan presumably, which is insulting to Japan. We take our missiles back to the United States. So they have one hundred to zero. That is the real bargain that is being negotiated, and I think that's not a good outcome for the United States. As Mr. Perle indicated, there is this concern over a trend in Europe toward denuclearization. I think this proposal pushes the United States in that direction, though technically we'll still have nuclear weapons. It reverses a trend we've had for over thirty years of having some missiles in Europe targeted against the [Soviet bloc]. For the first time that will not be the case. . . .

MRS. HUNTER-GAULT: All right. . . . Now, Mr. Jackson, do you think this is a good deal?

MR. JACKSON: . . . What is the strategy of this Administration? Mr. Perle spoke of a coherent defense strategy. That's nonsense. The Reagan Administration has simply blown it when it comes to any overall defense or arms-control strategy or plan, to advance the national interest of the United States. . . . It's simply too late to cut a strategic-arms deal, and the European deal is a last effort by a weakened Administration. Generally, what's happening is that the Administration's strategic and nuclear-weapons arms-control proposals are promoting European unilateral-

for behavior) on both the Soviets and our allies. Here a little history is in order.

American foreign policy since World War II has repudiated old-fashioned imperial politics. The last American presidential candidate who supported spheres of influence was poor, befuddled Henry Wallace, who in 1948 suggested that we could end the hostile atmosphere by carving up the world with Moscow along the lines of the Anglo-Russian entente of 1977 carving up Persia. When NATO was established we committed ourselves to multilateral relations with the Soviets and their satellites; there would be none of this "get the children off the streets and let the grown-ups settle things." It may have been a naïve, idealistic decision, but it is a decision long taken. We function within our network of alliances or not at all.

Our European allies have occasionally been worried—Henry Kissinger in particular gave them (like the Japanese) the jitters with his theatrics—and from time to time, notably in connection with Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik, we have felt that we had been blindsided. But I submit that, despite my reservations about NATO, we have been good allies.

Suddenly, as George Shultz prepares the scenario for a missile Summit, our European friends are beginning to wonder whether de Gaulle did in fact know something no one else knew about American eccentricities. Perhaps President Mitterrand is right when he says we are concocting a "nuclear Munich"? At the moment all the auguries indicate that the President is prepared to initial a treaty with Gorbachev that would leave Western Europe naked in the face of Soviet and Warsaw Pact force, with the exception of the French and British deterrents. A cynical Frenchman indeed suggested that in his desperate quest to be the Man of Peace, President Reagan might offer Gorbachev Denmark as an hors d'œuvre.

The most profound impact of a bilateral deal would be on West Germany, a stalwart ally, where morale would probably approximate that in Poland after the Nazi-Soviet Pact. Ever since Jimmy Carter sandbagged Helmut Schmidt on the neutron bomb, responsible Germans have been looking nervously over their shoulders at Washington. Yet the Christian Democrat-Free Democrat coalition bravely went to bat for the installation of the Pershing IIs, essentially putting their political future at the mercy of American collegiality. For them to be left twisting in the wind by a great-power agreement would create an extremely dangerous vacuum in the heart of Europe, revive the unilateral disarmers among the Social Democrats and the Greens, and quite possibly lead to reunification with a "neutral" East Germany—that is, an East Germany from which Soviet troops had been removed and the local military converted into "police." The impact on the Netherlands and other lesser states would be comparable, though less significant, given the map of Europe.

Meanwhile, across the Channel, Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher would be extremely vulnerable to the officially unilateralist Labour Party in coalition with disillusioned (and often historically anti-American) Tories and the SDP-

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ism and American isolationism, which together promote a Soviet policy of anti-American détente in Europe. . . . I suspect the real reason [for this agreement] is that [an] intermediate-range-forces agreement in Europe is the line of least resistance within the Administration, and between us and the Soviets, [so it's] the Europeans who take it in the groin, if you will.

MRS. HUNTER-GAULT: Let me pursue this with Mr. Weiss. . . . What is your major problem with [the proposal]?

MR. WEISS: There are three. First of all, I think there is a very serious question about the verifiability of this agreement, and in fairness it strikes me as somewhat incredible that an Administration that has made as much of an issue of Soviet violations as this Administration has, would sign an agreement that may not be verifiable. Secondly, I think . . . it's based on faulty strategic premises. NATO's security has been based on the assumption that it was simply impossible for the Western Alliance to develop the conventional capability to offset the Soviet Union and its allies. This is not, by the way, for lack of resources, it's simply the asymmetry between the two societies—the totalitarian state is prepared to provide the wherewithal, democratic states in time of peace generally are not. As a result, it has been NATO strategic policy to ultimately rely on a nuclear response. I think it's going to be very difficult for them to have an effective nuclear deterrent if these long-range systems are totally brought out of the inventory. My third point of objection is that I think it is likely to have adverse political consequences, and in some respects that may be the most serious objection of all that I have.

MRS. HUNTER-GAULT: In the United States or in Europe, or—

MR. WEISS: In both. You hit it precisely on the nose. Despite what Mr. Perle has said, I think it is patently obvious that this has already been a disruptive issue within the Alliance. . . . In fact, it's been a principal objective of Soviet policy for the last thirty or forty years to sow precisely such discord. On the domestic scene, my concern is underlined by an expert you had on this program about a week ago, who asserted with practically unvarnished glee that—at least this is how I understood his position—it was not so much the specifics of the agreement that interested him, but that this would herald the dawning of a new era of détente. And it was obvious that he was enthusiastic over that prospect. I am not. . . . I think our previous experience with détente suggested that it was very bad for the United States. I think it would be extraordinarily difficult with a new arms-control agreement, a Summit to follow that, thousands of members of the press fawning over every word of Mr. Gorbachev, the President and Mr. Gorbachev clinking champagne glasses. When the President then goes up to the Hill and asks for that increase in the defense budget, he will pay a very difficult price getting it. I don't think he can. □

Liberals, who are split every which way on defense policy. In short, the prosecution rests on the first count: A Reagan-Gorbachev private deal would disintegrate the Atlantic Alliance.

Point two in the indictment: Although nobody seems at this time to have precise details on the military aspects of the project, there is every indication it will be asymmetrical, favoring the Soviets. For starters, let's look at that grand "zero option" on intermediate-range ballistic missiles (IRBMs—range: six hundred to three thousand miles). Here the basic comparison is between our 108 (when deployed) Pershing IIs—which, Soviet propaganda to the contrary, cannot hit Moscow even with a strong tail wind—and their 294 (according to the April 18 *Economist*) SS-20s in European Russia. In military terms this is a confrontation between a .22 and a 155mm howitzer. Even if moved beyond the Urals, the SS-20s can cover *all* of Western Europe, including the Iberian peninsula, and reach our vital airbases at Keflavik in Iceland and Thule in Greenland. (See *The Military Balance*, International Institute for Strategic Studies, 1986-87.)

There has been murky talk about limiting the USSR to one hundred warheads on medium-range missiles (probably SS-20s), to be based in Soviet Asia. But in addition to the SS-20s are the so-called short-range ballistic missiles (SRBMs—three hundred to six hundred miles), of which the Soviets have (according to the 1986-87 IISS estimate)

MACKEY Chicago Tribune
BOZO THE CLOWN
MAGIC SLATE
Dear Mr. President—
After frank and serious discussions with Gorbachev I am convinced that we are entering a new era in Soviet-American relations.
— Shultz

DISPATCH FROM MOSCOW.

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roughly five hundred, with a number of them deployed in Czechoslovakia and East Germany. In California three hundred miles is a ski trip, but get a pair of calipers and see how far it takes you in Europe. On my reckoning, it is roughly three hundred miles from Prague to Bonn as the missile flies. What about these SRBMs (for which we have no counterpart except some aging Pershing I missiles in West Germany)? The Soviets have suggested that after we settle the big item, these missiles could be subject to separate negotiations. Thanks, but even if all the SS-20s were to vanish tomorrow, these SRBMs would leave Western Europe in nuclear bondage. I wouldn't want to stand on one foot while the negotiations proceeded.

We could get off into the complicated questions of cruise missiles, bombers, and variable ranges, but essentially the prosecution rests on the charge that even if the longed-for agreement included *all* IRBMs and SRBMs, it would leave the West open to the overwhelming non-nuclear, conventional might of the Soviets and the Warsaw Pact.

Which brings us to the final point in the indictment: An agreement along the lines speculated on herein would not only send a signal to the European democracies that the legions were going home (the next logical step in the retrogression is of course the recall of the Seventh Army and our air and naval assets), but also reinforce the growing American conviction that "happy days are here again," that we are no longer going to pour our assets down the drain to save those NATO ingrates—who have never paid their dues—from whatever destiny awaits them. As I pointed out here in "The Demise of Liberal Internationalism" (May 3, 1985), American attitudes today are singularly reminiscent of those of my childhood and adolescence. The Old Right and the New Left share the view that we should mind our own business, the Right because the world corrupts us, the Left because we corrupt the world.

As President Reagan meditates on his place in history, does he want to be seen as a born-again isolationist? Does he want SDI to be considered (as it already is by some cynical Europeans) as the Astrodome over Fortress America? Has he contemplated the fungibility of a Metternich-style deal, founded wholly on a selfish view of American self-interest, as applied to other aspects of our policy? You can't discourage the crude and destructive nationalism of economic protectionism by engaging in its diplomatic equivalent. The Japanese will surely get a signal.

Maybe the liberal-conservative internationalism that has kept the big peace since 1945 is anachronistic, but the President, before he signs its death warrant, should recall that, in a world without allies, when a real crisis arises he can't contemplate flexible response. All he can do under the terms of the suicide pact is decide whether or not to push the button for Armageddon. □

Arms Control Perverted

Jack Kemp

THE SOVIETS have been trying to use arms control as a wedge to break up NATO and neutralize Western Europe. They would like nothing better than to decouple the United States from our European allies.

In this atmosphere, caution and careful deliberation are essential. Instead, we seem to be caught up on an arms-control merry-go-round, where everyone likes the idea of reducing nuclear weapons in Europe, but the details are all blurry.

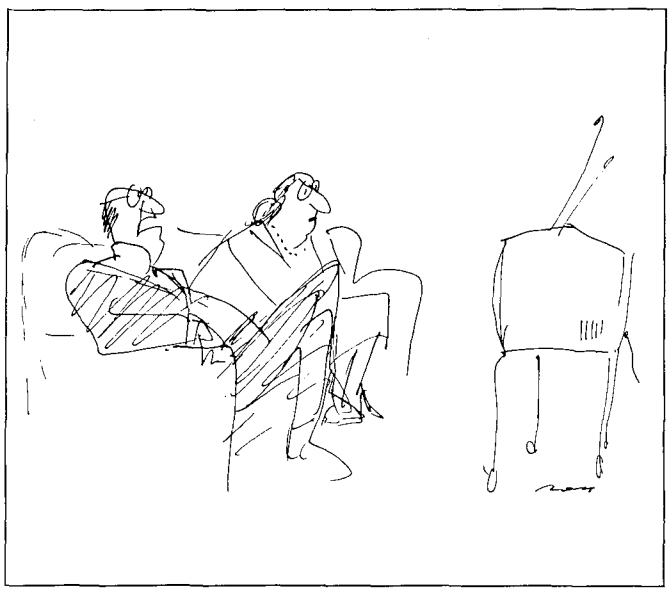
I agree that reducing offensive nuclear arms is a worthwhile goal. But in order to enhance security and peace, any agreement must include effective verification measures and compliance guarantees, and must also address the conventional imbalance of forces.

In particular, I want to know what safeguards we will have for the security of Western Europe if we agree to pull out the Pershing IIs and cruise missiles it took us years to deploy, at a high political cost. What will we do to offset the Soviets' extensive conventional superiority?

If the price of this treaty is exposing Western Europe and American troops to the overwhelming advantage of Soviet firepower, and making Europe safe for conventional war, then that price is too high.

The Soviets have an offensive military strategy. Their massive military buildup over the last decade is directed at negating NATO's ability to respond. Without significant Soviet conventional reductions, withdrawing NATO's nuclear forces would increase the Warsaw Pact's existing advantage.

Some say we could build up our conventional strength in Europe to offset the Soviet advantage. This is a pipe dream. Does anyone believe Congress would be willing to appropriate the extraordinary amounts of money that would be necessary to accomplish this? (Nuclear weapons are relatively inexpensive; we won't be saving money by pulling them out.)



Ross / Rothco

"You say it's Ron's *next move, I say it's* Gorby's*!"*

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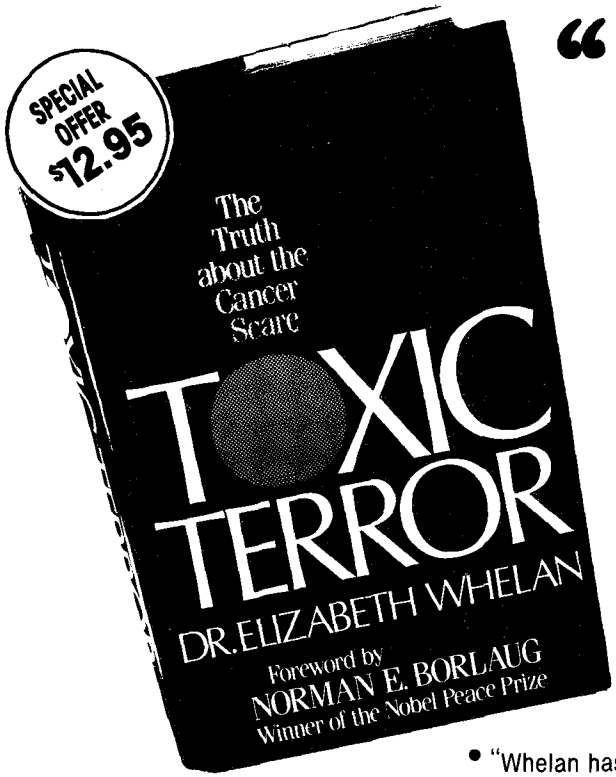
"IS IT ANY WONDER QUACKS TRIUMPH ?..."*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Meanwhile, we have over a decade of experience with Soviet cheating on arms-control agreements. Verification and compliance with a new agreement must be ironclad —and here many uncertainties remain:

—If the Soviets are permitted to retain one hundred SS-20 warheads, they will also retain production facilities for those warheads. How are we to know whether the limit of a hundred has been honored?

—What will happen to Soviet short-range systems? Will they be destroyed, or simply withdrawn so that they can be brought back at a later date?

—How will we identify the production facilities that are to be shut down? Do we have the technical ability and the resources to carry out verification?

—How do we know that our data base is correct? The Soviets could well be hiding additional missiles in warehouses and deployment areas we don't know about. Nothing in our experience suggests that we are able to gather precise information on Soviet stockpiles.

—The SS-25—a new mobile Soviet intercontinental missile—is the same as an SS-20 with a third-stage booster added. What is to keep the Soviets from threatening Europe with elements of their ICBM force?

The principal foreign-policy objective of the Soviet Union has been to split the NATO alliance at mid-Atlantic. My fear is that by concluding a treaty that would require the United States to withdraw our front-line defenses from Europe, the Soviets will edge closer to that goal.

Nuclear weapons are in NATO Europe to keep the peace. I will support an agreement on intermediate-range nuclear forces (INF) only if it will strengthen our deterrent and advance stability and peace in Europe. But we have a long way to go before we will have such an agreement in hand. □

A Real Peace

Richard Nixon & Henry Kissinger

THERE IS little doubt that a Summit meeting will occur this year and that an arms-control agreement will be signed. But whether this leads to a breakthrough toward peace depends on whether it is the right kind of deal. That is still an open question.

How did we reach this point? There are two principal factors.

The first is President Reagan's success in restoring American self-respect and military strength. He has made the United States worth negotiating with. No one can deny the decisive role the Strategic Defense Initiative has played in bringing the Soviets to the negotiating table.

The second is that General Secretary Gorbachev needs a deal. He wants a relaxation of tensions with the West in order to pursue his desperately needed domestic reforms.

All attention is now focused on the possibility of an agreement on medium- and short-range missiles. With respect to medium-range missiles, Gorbachev offers to give up 922 warheads on SS-20 missiles if we give up 316 warheads on Pershing II and cruise missiles. He has also offered to destroy 142 short-range SS-12/22s and SS-23s. Each side would retain one hundred warheads on medium-range missiles, with Moscow's based in Soviet Asia and ours in the United States. It seems almost too good to be true—an offer we apparently cannot refuse.

Why does Gorbachev, a leader trained in the balance-of-power tradition, offer apparently unequal reductions? Gorbachev is by far the ablest of all Soviet leaders since the end of World War II. He has an acute intelligence, a forceful presence, and a contagious charisma. He is making some bold domestic reforms. But this does not mean he is a philanthropist. He knows that the Soviet cuts do not reduce in any significant manner the Soviet nuclear threat to Europe, and that they increase the Soviet conventional threat. He is seeking to weaken the ties between the United States and Western Europe and between Germany and the Atlantic Alliance.

If we strike the wrong kind of deal, we could create the most profound crisis of the NATO alliance in its forty-year history—an alliance sustained by seven Administrations of both parties. Because we are deeply concerned about this danger, we, who have attended several Summits and engaged in many negotiations with Soviet leaders, are speaking out jointly for the first time since both of us left office.

When NATO was created, faced with Moscow's massive conventional superiority, the Allies chose to confront So-

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'. . . Another Ten Divisions'

On April 19, Representative Les Aspin, chairman of the House Armed Services Committee, appeared on This Week with David Brinkley *to give his view of the proposed arms deal. Joining Mr. Aspin and Mr. Brinkley were George Will and Sam Donaldson. A partial transcript follows.*

MR. BRINKLEY: What do you think [of the proposed deal]?

REPRESENTATIVE ASPIN: I'm worried about it. . . . We're eliminating the safest weapons and leaving in the most dangerous. Not all nuclear weapons are equal. Some are more dangerous than others. The most dangerous weapons in Europe are what are called the tactical, or battlefield, nuclear weapons, the ones that are right up front, and which would be involved right away in a fight if a conventional war were to break out. These are very dangerous. It's been a longtime goal of a number of us to try to get those weapons out of the system . . . But what we're doing with this agreement is going in exactly the opposite direction. We're eliminating the medium[-range nuclear weapons]; then we're eliminating the short[-range nuclear weapons], which leaves the tactical, battlefield nuclear weapons. Those are the ones that are really the most dangerous, because, if a war breaks out, there's going to be pressure to use them or lose them. If you were thinking about how we were going to do this system from a rational standpoint, what you do is eliminate the battlefield and tactical weapons, and move [short- and medium-range] weapons back a safe distance. But, under this agreement, it's exactly those kinds of weapons that we're eliminating.

MR. WILL: Does the Administration and, specifically, does the President accept the fact, do you believe, that we need nuclear weapons in Europe?

REPRESENTATIVE ASPIN: I don't know. I mean—

MR. WILL: So it is open to doubt?

REPRESENTATIVE ASPIN: [When] Mikhail Gorbachev [proposed] eliminating all nuclear weapons at Reykjavik, the President allowed as how he thought that was a pretty good idea.

MR. WILL: Now, with their—the Soviet—advantage in conventional and chemical forces, both numerical and geographical—because they're right there—is it not in the Soviet interest to stigmatize nuclear weapons generally and denuclearize Europe? And does not the President's rhetoric in this regard, about a nuclear-free world, play into his hands?

REPRESENTATIVE ASPIN: Absolutely. Absolutely. I mean, if you look at the speech that Mr. Gorbachev made at Prague, he talks about, let's get rid of the long-range or the medium-range missiles, let's get rid of the short-range missiles. And he also says, let's have a nuclear-free corridor in Europe. Well, that's where the tactical weapons are. I mean, you put the program together that Mr. Gorbachev is proposing, and you've got no nuclear weapons on the continent of Europe.

MR. WILL: Nuclear weapons are a very cheap form of deterrence.

REPRESENTATIVE ASPIN: Correct.

MR. WILL: Can you give our viewers some idea of what would have to happen to the defense budget were we to have what the President says he wants, which is a nonnuclear world, and were we therefore to rely in [Europe] on conventional forces? . . .

REPRESENTATIVE ASPIN: The last time I looked at it, I thought in order to have a credible conventional balance in Europe, we would need another ten divisions on our side. □

viet manpower by threatening to respond to a Soviet conventional attack with nuclear weapons. So long as the United States had superiority in strategic nuclear weapons, that strategy was credible. But since the late 1970s, the Soviet strategic arsenal has come to equal, and in land-based missiles to exceed, that of the United States. This means that a nuclear war would involve scores of millions of American casualties in a matter of hours. We need not debate whether an American President would under these circumstances initiate strategic nuclear war in response to an attack on Europe. It is enough to recognize that if the Soviets believe he might not, deterrence could fail.

That is why NATO developed a doctrine—flexible response—that would permit a graduated application of its nuclear power. Medium- and short-range missiles placed on the continent of Europe restored the credibility of the threat of nuclear retaliation, if only because the Soviets had to calculate that the United States would not permit them to be overrun without using them. This was especially important for the Federal Republic of Germany, which, unlike France and Britain, has no nuclear weapons and, unlike Italy, has large Soviet armies on its borders. Three years ago, NATO governments overcame bitter Soviet-sponsored demonstrations to deploy these medium-range missiles.

It is regrettable that, in the late 1970s, the deployment of those weapons was justified solely on the ground that they were needed to balance the new Soviet SS-20 missiles, and that Western statesmen said a withdrawal of the SS-20s would permit us to withdraw our missiles as well. In fact, these missiles were not needed to offset their equivalents. Their real function was to discourage Soviet nuclear blackmail of Europe by whatever weapon from whatever location and to deter Soviet conventional attack. They closed a gap in deterrence caused by the apocalyptic nature of strategic nuclear war.

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The Soviets' strategy since the end of World War II has been to exploit the West's fear of nuclear weapons by calling repeatedly for their eventual abolition. If we acquiesce in this strategy, we will create a far more dangerous world. Any Western leader who indulges in the Soviets' disingenuous fantasies of a nuclear-free world courts unimaginable perils.

If we eliminate American medium- and short-range forces in Europe without redressing the conventional imbalance, the Soviet nuclear threat to Europe will remain, and the gap in deterrence of conventional attack will be reopened. Even after the proposed reductions the entire Soviet nuclear arsenal of 19,000 warheads could, if the Soviet Union should so choose, be aimed at Western Europe from the Soviet Union.

Deterrence cannot be based either on U.S. battlefield nuclear weapons, because their range is too short, or on tactical bombers, because of the formidable Soviet air defenses. Reliance on battlefield nuclear weapons has two other disadvantages. It stakes the nuclear threat on the nuclear weapons most difficult for civilian leaders to control. Above all it would confine the use of nuclear weapons in effect to German soil.

Faced with such prospects, no German government will be able to resist for long the siren song of denuclearization on the one hand or the acquisition of nuclear weapons on the other. And this in turn would leave American forces in Europe without adequate nuclear protection.

In retrospect, NATO should not have offered the zero option in the late 1970s. But we have crossed that bridge. The Soviets have accepted our offer. Still, it would be a profound mistake to conclude the agreement in its present form. We must insist on at least two conditions:

1. No missiles in Asia. We must demand that the zero option eliminate all intermediate-range missiles worldwide. From just beyond the Ural Mountains, Soviet SS-20 missiles could still reach Germany and, being mobile, could quickly be moved into positions that would threaten all of Europe. Also, given the enormous Soviet nuclear arsenal, the sole Soviet purpose in retaining one hundred warheads in Asia is to intimidate China, Japan, and Korea—with American acquiescence. Finally, if one hundred warheads are permitted in Asia, the verification problem becomes enormous, because that would allow Moscow to maintain its production lines and continue test firings.

2. Linkage to conventional balance. Since the missile reductions are slated to take place over five years, we should link the final phase of withdrawals to the elimination of the huge Soviet conventional superiority. The agreement must provide that negotiations to this end begin immediately and be concluded before the final phase of missile withdrawal begins. Otherwise, removing medium- and short-range nuclear weapons would simply make Europe safe for conventional war.

Our negotiators must hold their ground on these points. No deal is better than a bad deal. But that is not our choice. We can reach a good deal, for both sides, if we always keep in mind that Gorbachev needs a deal as much as we do.

In addition to arms control, it is vital that a Summit convened to sign a missile agreement deal with the major political U.S.-Soviet issues. If Summitry is to promote the chances of peace, the superpowers must address the potential causes of war. It is not weapons that cause war, but rather the political differences that lead to the use of those weapons. Therefore, when President Reagan and Gorbachev meet, there must be significant progress toward resolving key political issues, such as the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan, Soviet arms shipments to Nicaragua, and Soviet-sponsored subversion in Central America. Gorbachev has taken the first steps toward reform at home but has not retreated one inch from Moscow's posture abroad. Indeed, his policy can be said to be a subtler implementation of historic Soviet patterns. He has criticized Brezhnev, but he still enforces the Brezhnev Doctrine.

Every President has an understandable desire to assure his place in history as a peacemaker. But he must always remember that however he may be hailed in today's headlines the judgment of history would severely condemn a false peace. If President Reagan stands firm for the principles that he has maintained so steadfastly throughout his career, he will be able to sign the right agreement and make a significant step toward real peace. □

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Softening Up The Germans

Evan G. Galbraith

THE PROPOSED Shultz-Gorbachev arms deal would remove all medium-range U.S. nuclear missiles from Belgium, Great Britain, Italy, and the Netherlands (or, in the latter case, prevent their installation, scheduled for 1988), as well as West Germany. However, West Germany is clearly the main target, and it is largely a political target. One of the Soviets' chief foreign-policy goals is to demilitarize West Germany, render it neutral, and create thereby a large, impotent Austria in the middle of Europe.

This achieved, the smaller NATO countries—Belgium, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, and Denmark—could be expected quickly to follow Germany into neutrality. France, Great Britain, Norway, and Italy would probably try to hold together a rump NATO, but the pressure on the British, from within and without, to get rid of their nuclear weapons would be overwhelming. The common European defense would become useless, and the Soviet Union would dominate Western Europe—without having fired a shot. France, with its formidable array of nuclear weapons, would be the last to succumb to Soviet hegemony, but it is difficult to see how it could stand alone very long.

An essential step for the Soviets in carrying out this scenario is the elimination of U.S. nuclear missiles from West Germany. These weapons serve to reinforce the will

Mr. Galbraith was U.S. Ambassador to France from 1981 to 1985.

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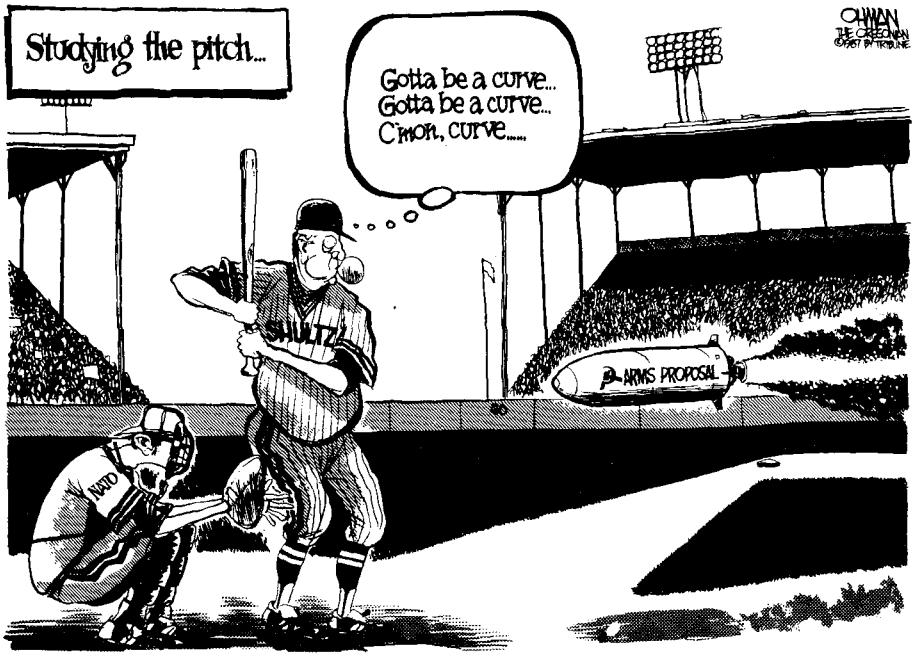

of the German people to defend themselves. Without these weapons, their determination will erode. The supposed protection offered by U.S.-based strategic forces is not enough. Few Europeans believe that a U.S. President would let go a salvo of U.S.-based strategic nuclear missiles—thus provoking the almost certain destruction of American cities—solely in defense of Western Europe.

Far more useful to the West are the medium- and short-range missiles the proposed Shultz-Gorbachev pact would remove. First, their mission includes the destruction of the second and third echelons of the Soviet armed forces, without which the Soviets could not sustain an invasion of Western Europe. More importantly, a defensive theater nuclear strike, though dangerous, would not automatically lead to a global strategic exchange. Thus the threat of such a strike is a more credible and powerful deterrent.

By a twin-pronged attack, the Soviets have already softened up the Germans, preparing them to accept denuclearization. On the one hand, the Soviets have made threatening noises, trafficking on the German fear of nuclear war. On the other hand, they have sung the sweet song of détente, assuring the Germans that under Gorbachev there is nothing wrong that trade, credits, and disarmament will not cure. As a result, the German voters would probably accept the Shultz-Gorbachev deal, even though they are uneasy about it.

One would hope that Chancellor Kohl would resist giving his approval to the American proposal; but we should not expect him to balk too publicly, either. Kohl had to work hard to sell the Germans on the need to deploy the Pershing IIs; it would be difficult for him to crusade against their removal when America is proposing it.

If our nuclear weapons are indeed pulled out of Germany, there is some hope that they would be replaced by French tactical nuclear weapons: the Pluton and, later, the Hades, which will have a range of 250 miles. Moreover, France's strategic arsenal, which will include six hundred submarine-launched warheads by the early 1990s, may soon be dedicated to the defense of West German as well as French soil. French strategic weapons are a more credible deterrent than American weapons because of France's vulnerability to a Soviet attack by land.

But the Soviets have yet another major card to play to see that the French nuclear defense of West Germany doesn't happen. Don't be surprised if they offer the reunification of Germany—that is, a denuclearized, largely demilitarized, neutral Germany. To give up East Germany in exchange for a pliant Central Europe and a decimated NATO is not a bad deal for a strategic thinker like Gorbachev.

Those who think I overestimate the *political* threat posed to West Germany need only look at the leftward gallop of the Social Democratic Party (SPD) and the growth of the Greens. The resolve of Helmut Schmidt has been replaced by the appeasement of *Herren* Bahr and Ehmke. And when one adds the Free Democrats, led by that ultimate politician, Foreign Minister Genscher, we have the basis for a German neutralist policy. Eliminating the Pershing IIs will not take us back to the *status quo ante.*

But why are we even considering an INF pact if this gloomy scenario has the slightest chance of being realized? It is hard to say. George Shultz is a stubborn, ambitious man who is capable of sticking to a blunder to the bitter end: witness the famous May 17 Agreement between Israel and Lebanon and the subsequent mess in the Middle East; or witness his fraternizing with the African National Congress. Perhaps he and President Reagan both feel this pact with the Soviets will entitle them to a revered page in history. They are wrong. The umbrella of nuclear deterrence is being exchanged for the umbrella of Munich. □

...NOW, NOW... UNDERNEATH IT ALL THEY'RE JUST LIKE YOU AND ME!
W. EUROPE
CONVENTIONAL POWER
Distributed by King Features Syndicate

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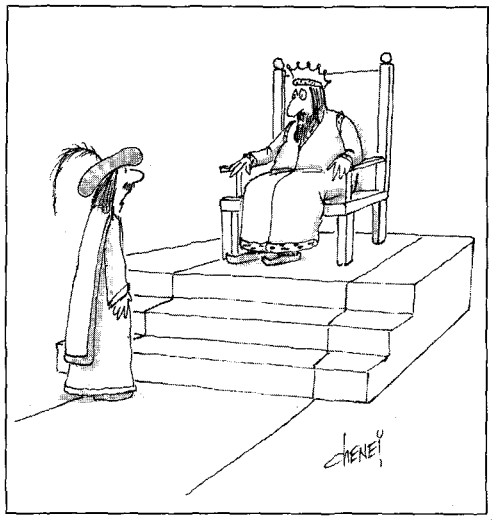
HAVING LOCATED A KGB LISTENING DEVICE, U.S. EMBASSY OFFICIALS IN MOSCOW DECIDE TO HAVE SOME FUN...
RAISA GORBACHEV AND ONE OF OUR MARINES? I AM SHOCKED!...POOR MIKHAIL...
SKELLY
©1987 SAN JOAQUIN COPLEY NEWS SERVICE

Kennings

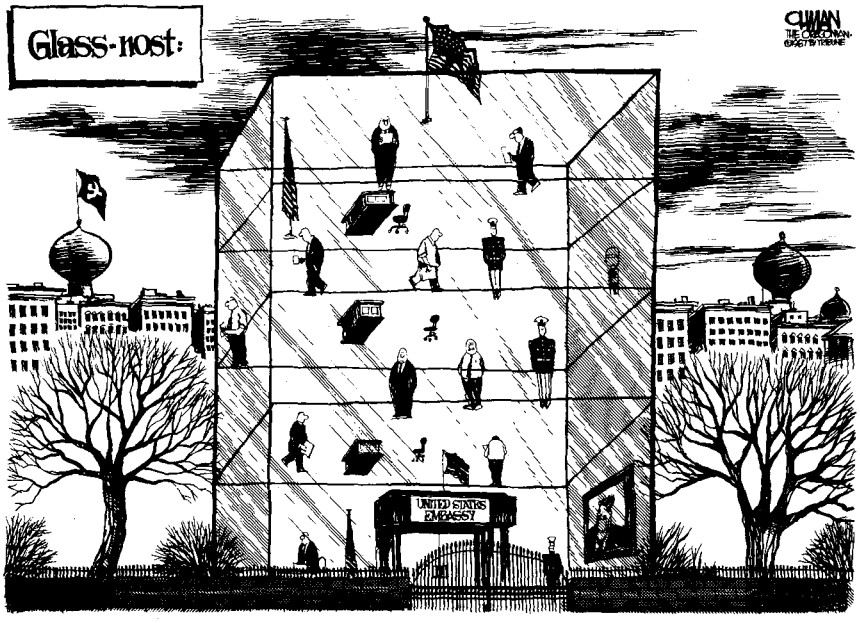
Logger
Slowly
he felt lessened
by the dwindling number
of those giants humbled into
lumber.

Forester
Because
he too was old,
and knew of fire and freeze,
he bowed and tipped his hat to all
old trees.

Gloria A. Maxson



"Your pipe and bowl are on the way, Your Majesty, but your fiddlers three refuse to breathe second-hand smoke."



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MAHIEU Chicago Tribune
SURE, MR. PRESIDENT, WE'RE GOOD NEIGHBORS, BUT THERE ARE FACETS OF THE RELATIONSHIP THAT NEED WORK.
CANADA

DEMOCRAT PRODUCTIONS
PRESIDENTIAL TALENT AGENCY
WELL, CUOMO AND NUNN HAVE CANCELLED... WE'RE AUDITIONING A BUNCH OF NO-NAMES LIKE BABBITT, BUMPERS, GEPHARDT, DUKAKIS, ETC.... AND THEN THERE'S ALWAYS HARTPENCE AND THE REVEREND JESSE...
SUDDENLY!— I HAD ANOTHER NEW IDEA!
SOMEWHERE OVER THE RAINBOW...
SCRIPT
FRITZ MONDALE IN I'M GONNA RAISE YOUR TAXES!!
JIMMY THE PEANUT
TIE A YELLOW RIBBON
H. PAYNE
©1987 SCRIPPS HOWARD UNITED FEATURE SYND.

STILL SMARTING FROM THEIR 1984 BOMB, THE DIRECTORS GIVE IT ANOTHER GO...

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EXPORTING THE DRUG WAR

PERHAPS, SEEN from Washington, it looked like Grenada: U.S. troops, armed with weapons and persuasion, swooping down in helicopters on the Bolivian jungle. The cocaine trade had to be stopped. The peasants were to be steered toward substitute crops, and the narcotics agents of Bolivia taught the techniques of controlling the means of production, from the modest coca plant itself to the clandestine transport planes. The producers, the middlemen, the traffickers, the suppliers, the big profiteers—all were to be cut down to size.

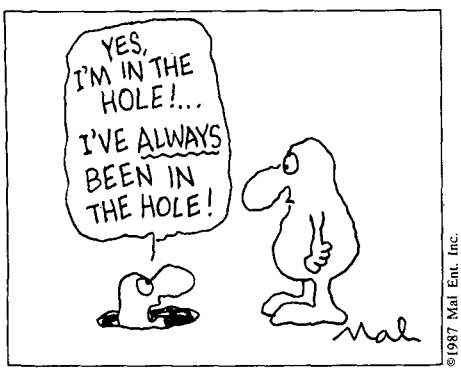
Months (and tons of destroyed coca powder) later, the U.S. expeditionary units withdrew (with a few agents staying behind), leaving the coca fields and cocaine factories to local law enforcers. One assumes that a report—"mission accomplished"—was duly dispatched to the proper authorities in Washington. The streets of New York, Los Angeles, and every large city in between would be relieved of the burden of drug-induced crime and of the sick wretches who buy the stuff.

Seen from La Paz, the U.S. commando action looks rather less glamorous. When the U.S. first approached Bolivia on the subject, it had to agree to pay $100 million as a kind of compensation for damage to Bolivian national pride. Washington also agreed to leave the helicopters as a gift to the Bolivian air force and/or anti-narcotics agency.

What did the U.S. get for its money? A complex question, the visitor will agree, as, on arrival at 12,000 feet, he feels the first migraine attack and respiratory difficulties and reaches for his first cup of coca tea. Coca is everywhere: It has been for untold millennia the stuff that made life bearable on the mountains and high plateaus, and even in La Paz itself, with its climbing streets. Putting an end to coca production, even limiting it efficiently, is not a realistic project. Bolivia has already lost its quasi-monopoly on tin (to Brazil and Malaysia); how could it also surrender its prominence in narcotics? Cocaine is white gold, and in a poor country—one at the bottom of the United Nations list of underdeveloped countries—an excellent earner of foreign currency.

The cash does not necessarily flow into the national treasury, but into various official and not-so-official pockets. Nobody knows exactly who the biggest profiteers are, but very highly placed individuals are mentioned in conversations over coca tea. While these people could not say no to Washington's offer of a "clean-up" operation, they also had no intention of making it succeed. In Bolivia, and around the rest of the continent, when the topic arises, the unanimous response is: "Why do the Americans not clean up their own cities?" (Capital punishment is even suggested, oh horrors!)

The argument is that you will never be able to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. A whole impossible land-reform program would be needed (Bolivia's in 1952 proved a predictable failure) to get the peasants to turn to other crops. And the anti-drug offensives only drive the price and profit higher: At present, while many coca producers have remained in business, they now produce less cocaine, so the world market price is going up. Part of the purpose of the U.S. operation was to reduce the rate of drug-induced crime; instead, the crimes may become more numerous and vicious.



Bolivia is not the only producer. The Andean countries are generally heavy producers, and consumers—I remember that only coca tea would soothe my feverish head, years ago, in Cuzco. And the cocaine trade is now used as a means of financing revolutionary and guerrilla movements—and hence, as a means of destabilizing the West. Washington is treating the symptoms, not the cause. So what's new?

WHAT I SAW on the streets, in the markets, in the cheap hotels of La Paz reminded me of scenes in India, Sri Lanka, and Nepal: Western hippies driven to "exoticism" by the search for nirvana and political activism, never mind that these contradict each other. The scum of Western youth here feels in its element: the drugs, the daze, the odors, the prospects of do-goodism among beggars and their filth. The "system" is assumed to be repressive, so our dropouts and marginal types have an easy time playing the savior. In the rarefied air of Bolivia, where a sensation of exuberance overcomes you easily, these young people—from the Netherlands, Germany, or the United States—swarm, as they swarm in Athens, in Katmandu, in Colombo, and in the sticky back alleys and temples of Benares. Not in Malaysia, though, where posters announcing the death penalty for possession of any hard drug greet the traveler at every airport. Kuala Lumpur recently proved that it means it by hanging two Australians. The world media were up in arms for three days. Then they returned to fighting apartheid. □

Mr. Molnar's latest book, The Pagan Temptation, *will be published by Eerdmans in May.*

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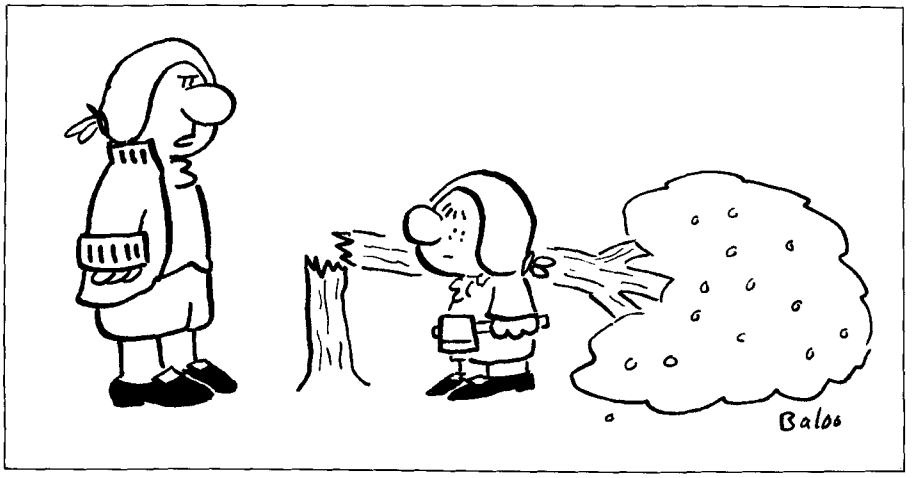
WHAT MEN REALLY WANT

THE SETTING IS a corporate conference room, the walls lined with law books, in a New York skyscraper not far from Wall Street. A group of 15 men gather for a revolutionary meeting. They are the newest edition of an old American story: Lonely visionaries, ridiculed by society, persevere in efforts to break shackles of oppression for disadvantaged group. Only this time there's a difference. This time the huddled mass yearning to breathe free is: the American male. The new revolutionaries come from all boroughs, all walks of life, all marital statuses to this plush room to be men together. No, it's not a feminist's nightmare, or a made-for-TV movie: It's the monthly board meeting of the National Organization for Men.

"Men's rights is the coming revolution," insists Sid Siller, president of NOM and author of a column on men's rights for *Penthouse*. There are a couple of hundred men's-rights groups —most of them with just a handful of members—sprinkled throughout the country like yeast, waiting for men to rise up and throw off the shackles of female oppression. The National Organization for Men, which claims 3,300 members across America, is one of the largest and most ambitious.

Sid Siller introduces me, the lone member of an alien sex, to his fellow revolutionaries. "She's a reporter from NATIONAL REVIEW," he says. The mention of *NR* wins me instant acceptance. I am not one of those "blood enemies," a feminist. "Are you sure she's okay?" one of the men asks jokingly. "Maybe she's secretly spying for *Ms.*" "Naah," another answers, "she looks too sweet." "I don't know," the skeptic shakes his head in reply—"sometimes they can fool you."

I keep smiling—vainly trying to maintain the façade of a hard-boiled reporter. Sid Siller calls the meeting to order. By his own account, Siller thought up the men's-rights movement more than twenty years ago, when he and his then wife encountered marital difficulties. "I started men's rights when I found out I couldn't get divorced in 1964," Siller explained. "So I proceeded to organize. Eventually, in 1966, we got divorced." In 1964, when Siller's marriage hit the skids, adultery was the only legal grounds for divorce in the state of New York. Thanks in part to Siller's efforts, the law was broadened to include five additional grounds for fault divorces and to allow for no-fault divorces (either by mutual consent, or by a judge's decree). Heartened by his success, Siller founded an organization that started out as the National Committee for Fair Divorce and then, in 1983, became the National Organization for Men. With his broad features, florid complexion, and shock of white hair, Sid Siller is the archetypal regular guy. Although in fact a successful lawyer, he seems more like a refugee from a TV sit-com. In fact, he looks (and sounds) an awful lot like Sergeant Stan Jablonski on *Hill Street Blues*.



"It didn't either *hit you first!"*

THEY RUN through routine chores —treasurer's report, minutes—and then get down to business. A wan-looking gentleman in jeans is introduced to the group. He shares his story with them: how he lost his job because his boss, a black woman, hated him for being a white male. The others relate to his experience. "I really looked hard to find you guys," he responds. "I really needed a group like this." There's a certain rote quality to the whole business, as if they've read somewhere that oppressed groups are supposed to unburden themselves and receive support, and so they do.

I like these guys. How am I going to tell the world I think they're ridiculous? For ridiculous they are in their role of the vanguard of a new movement. "Onward men!" is their clarion call, while they look nervously over their shoulders, wondering why no one seems to be following.

The men's movement is divided into two basic camps: those who want to restore old-fashioned sex roles and those who want to destroy them. In the first faction are men like Max Freedman. A tall, middle-aged Orthodox Jew, Freedman is the author of *Manhood Redux* and a columnist whose work appears in the *New York*

Miss Gallagher is NR*'s Assistant Article Editor.*

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City Tribune. He argues that women, by invading occupations that require physical strength, are endangering society and threatening male sexual identity. "I think women should be equal—they should be doctors, lawyers, architects, anything they want," says Freedman. "But when I see a four-foot 11-inch policewoman swinging a billy club, that's an insult to my masculinity."

Richard Doyle, president of the Minnesota-based Men's Rights Association, is another traditionalist. "We [men's-rights activists] are proud of our masculinity," says Doyle. "There are normal roles for the male and normal roles for the female sex—this doesn't mean one sex is inferior or superior to the other."

On the other side are sexual egalitarians such as James Cook. Cook is president of the Los Angeles-based Joint Custody Association and one of the founders of the National Congress for Men (one of NOM's competitors for leadership of the nascent revolution). He says the men's-rights movement was formed to ensure a non-sexist society, because laws today favor women. According to Cook, the men's-rights movement is on the cutting edge of a wide range of issues that should concern the American male. How about a non-sexist draft, for instance, or the guaranteed right to obtain children through surrogate mothers? Cook passed along some literature to me warning about the threat of violent women. Did you know that if "abuse" is defined as being hit, kicked, or scratched, more men than women are abused by their spouses? I bet that one keeps a lot of men up late at night, quivering in their sheepskin slippers.

So far, the struggling male-liberation movement has made significant progress on only one front: fathers' rights. Groups with names like Dads against Discrimination are popping up across the country. Most of these are small pop-without-mom operations—a telephone and a post-office box—providing divorce counseling, legal referrals, and social support for divorced fathers. Occasionally, such groups make forays into state legislation. The greatest legislative success has been in the area of altering divorce laws to allow or encourage joint custody of children. "Joint custody has been the fastest-moving, most widespread of any major family-law change in the twentieth century," Cook proclaims. "We've encompassed now about 33 or 34 states."

Feminists originally supported the idea of joint custody. In the Seventies, according to Cook, the National Organization for Women included joint custody in its platform. Some feminists, like former NOW president Karen DeCrow, still support joint custody. "I feel it's extremely difficult to have a sex-role revolution when only half the participants are revolting," Mrs. DeCrow told the NCM's national conference in Detroit. "If you believe as a woman that you should have a chance for any job in this country, then the other side of that coin is that the man doesn't have to support you . . . *the* reason why men have trouble getting custody and why joint custody is not generally accepted . . . in this country is because men have been perceived throughout the centuries to be the money machines, to be the people who support, and the women are perceived to be the people who stay home and take care of the children."

There's a certain justice to Mrs. DeCrow's argument. Children in a truly sex-blind society—if a truly sex-blind society produced any children—would be awarded to the fathers half the time. In the real world, however, women remain, by their own and their husbands' choice, the primary caretakers of children. So most feminists now see joint custody as an attempt by men to deprive women of the right to continue in this role when the marriage dissolves. "I like some of the things they have to say," one woman professional with feminist sympathies told me, "but I think a lot of them are just guys who don't want to pay child support." Men's-rights activists are at least as ambivalent about their feminist counterparts. "I think the feminist movement is a great thing," says Cook, "but it's horribly self-destructive at the moment. At first they talked about equality, but by the end of the Seventies the feminists moved from equality to power. Power is insatiable; you can never have too much of it." Many of the male liberationists I talked with accept the goal of a non-sexist society; they charge that feminists are more interested in special favors. "You want equality?" they say to American womanhood. "I'll show you equality—get thee to the infantry."

So the nascent men's movement struggles on, wondering when men will rise up and strike down the feminists who dominate American society, degrading and humiliating the male sex. Sometimes I wonder the same thing. If men are really as powerful and as anti-feminist as the women's movement portrays them, how did the feminist revolution take hold? How did feminists manage to transform society so profoundly in so short a time? Occasionally, when I should be doing more mundane chores, I sit around bothering my boss with profound ruminations on the nature of things. "Look, you're a man," I say, playing the girl card. "Why did men swallow the feminist line? Why didn't they put up more of a fight?" He has an answer for almost anything. "You know that old line they put on bumper stickers: 'A man of quality is not threatened by a woman of equality'?" he asks. "I think men took that as a challenge—not to let anything women do bother them. It's a macho kinda thing." Men are *victims*, oppressed by *women*—what self-respecting male is going to believe that? Or as Asa Baber, "Men" columnist for *Playboy*, writes, " 'You mean,' the male hesitates to ask, 'that women are actually out to get the better of me? How can that be? They look so beautiful and feel so good and I need them so much.' " The feminist movement has undoubtedly created resentment and confusion among American men, but it's not the stuff of which revolutionary backlashes are made. Give up free love, easy divorce, and a wife's second income? No way.

But despite the difficulties, men like James Cook press on, writing pamphlets, drawing up legislation, circulating petitions, hoping to gain for men the peculiar kind of recognition you can get in today's America only by claiming membership in an oppressed class. It used to be that, if you didn't have status, you aped those who did, and hoped no one would notice the difference. Never before have we witnessed the spectacle of so many trying so hard to feel underprivileged. If the male liberationists are right, the circle is now complete: Women are oppressed. And men are oppressed, too. Welcome to the human race. □

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THOUGHT IN THE SLOW LANE

Joseph Sobran

Visions and Nightmares: America after Reagan, by Robert Lekachman (Macmillan, 316 pp., $19.95)

"IT HAS BEEN a long time since I have read a book that so shook me up and stirred me up as much as Robert Lekachman's *Visions and Nightmares*," says Robert Heilbroner in a dust-jacket blurb. From which I gather that Professor Heilbroner isn't exactly living in the fast lane these days. The other blurbs, from John Kenneth Galbraith and Irving Howe, suggest that the publisher couldn't get responses from any prospective blurbist under seventy.

Predictable is the word I'm groping for. Lekachman is a thinker who keeps the suspense at a minimum. You know all his opinions before you crack the book. In fact he banks on it. He's the kind of liberal who can advocate abortion on one page and blubber about infant mortality on the next. He wants a socialist economy but deplores "government restraints on individual choice." And he means every word of it, sort of.

Not because he's stupid, heaven knows, but because he's content to remain at the level of the prejudices, however incoherent, of a certain readership (*you know who you are*), a readership we all sense out there, maddeningly self-assured that its views, set in concrete, represent a final triumph over all prejudice. All three blurbists salute Lekachman's wit, confusing wit with sneers—at Christianity, the Pentagon, capitalism, and of course Ronald Reagan.

Thus Reagan's constituency includes "overlapping cadres of the godly and the greedy"—as if this were some sort of reflection on Reagan. Lekachman assumes he has scored a point, without pausing to consider that socialism, as an attempt to immanentize the eschaton, is equally absurd to the worldly and the otherworldly. And are there hypocrites among them? Maybe. Those things happen, even on the Left.

Meanwhile, the Religious Right's social agenda is "compulsory prayer and compulsory pregnancy." This must be the famed Lekachman wit! A man who distorts his opponents' positions this way isn't even arguing. What *is* he doing? Rallying his own troops, I guess.

When he isn't being witty, he can be darn solemn: "The parallel to South Africa is alarming." "It is not sexist to report women's powerful attachment to their children." And there are a few clichés: "vast cost overruns . . . ever more expensive lethal toys . . . accelerating arms race . . ."

He notes with satisfaction that Jews, with a few disgusting neoconservative exceptions, have remained virtuously leftist, while Catholics, with such virtuous exceptions as their bishops, have moved viciously to the Right. Jews' anxieties about persecution are to be taken seriously, but Christian anxieties about Communism are a running gag. In Lekachman's universe, there are no victims of Communism, and few excesses of socialism. A Communist is a fabled monster that silly people look under the bed for: This proposition undergirds the famed Lekachman wit, which keeps aging socialists in stitches. "Devastating," says Heilbroner. "Devastating," chimes in Howe.

This must be about the two-hundredth book about what an awful man Ronald Reagan is. It's Lekachman's second in the genre (you do remember *Greed Is Not Enough*, don't you?), which is a more . . . well, *devastating* comment on market forces than any he himself makes in his books. It reminds me of all of Galbraith's old theses about how the market reduplicates and overproduces frivolities. The days of tailfins are long gone, but Lekachman we have always with us. I'd say score one for Galbraith, but what in blazes is his name doing on the jacket?

Not that Lekachman isn't engaging enough. He writes with some snap, and for fifty pages you can't wait to get into his analysis. Then you realize

Helle Bering-Jensen is a critic and writer living in Washington, D.C.

Samuel T. Francis, who worked for the late Senator John P. East, is now on the editorial staff of the Washington Times.

Jeffrey Meyers has written biographies of Katherine Mansfield, Wyndham Lewis, and Ernest Hemingway, as well as the forthcoming Manic Power: Robert Lowell and His Circle.

Robert Nisbet lives in Washington, D.C., where he is completing a book, The Present Age, *for publication at the end of this year.*

Robert Royal is vice president for research at the Ethics and Public Policy Center, Washington, D.C.

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that all this partisan jocosity *is* his analysis. That makes the final 250 pages hard going. He tells us that so-and-so is "progressive," whereas such-and-such is "reactionary," which tells us nothing except what attitude he holds and presumes that we hold too. Somehow every argument seems to be based on its own conclusion.

Odd, because he devotes several pages to telling progressives that they have to get their act together and learn to beat the new conservatives in debate. And too bad, because I opened this book not only ready for debate but willing to have my mind changed about a few things. I don't hold to conservative party lines on, say, SDI, and I'm available to anyone who can make a good case. But Pentagon toilet-seat jokes don't make it, pal.

You know how it is when you're bored: Little things grab your attention. Mine was grabbed by an adverb: Lekachman says the Reagan Administration "*notoriously* has sabotaged affirmative action." Notoriously? You mean there's a consensus in *favor* of it? Well, yes: among the sort of people this book is addressed to. That shows a serious lack of missionary spirit, a desire to preach to the choirloft of liberalism, and never mind those who might have different ideas. He has given up. It's sad, in a way. □

RANDOM NOTES

□ More May Titles: In *The World and Richard Nixon* (Prentice-Hall, $18.95), C. L. Sulzberger praises Nixon's foreign-policy feints ("glowing success with important long-term results"), while putting a discreet distance between himself and the President's domestic policies and pratfalls.

The thesis of *Strategy* (Harvard, $20), by Edward N. Luttwak, is that "strategic practice can be freed from the systematically misleading influence of common-sense logic," and that "Peacetime international politics are conditioned by the same logic, insofar as the use of force is still a possible recourse." (In other words: If you want peace, prepare for war.)

Harold Cruse argues, in *Plural but Equal* (Morrow, $22.95), that the progress of American Negroes has been becalmed since the halcyon days of the civil-rights movement; that current black leadership lacks consensus (and thus effectiveness); and that the need exists for an "obligatory" independent black political party.

□ In-House Corner: Wm. F. Buckley Jr.'s third sailing book, an account of a trans-Pacific voyage excerpted by *The New Yorker*, is due for publication in mid May. Title: *Racing through Paradise: A Pacific Passage* (Random House, $25; special edition, including a page from the original ms., $150).

From This Moment On: America in 1940 (Crown, $22.50), by Jeffrey Hart, is a moving evocation of a year when much was ending, when a different America was about to be born, when the World's Fair was in Flushing Meadow, FDR beat Willkie, Hitler beat France but was defeated over England, Joe Louis and Joe DiMaggio were champions, Glenn Miller's band was number one, LaGuardia mayor, Sinatra the rage, Trotsky murdered, Ronald Reagan starring as George Gipp, and everyone reading *For Whom the Bell Tolls*. Due out in May.

Desert Light (St. Martin's, $15.95), by Chilton Williamson Jr., is a novel about a latter-day cynic's discovery, through a forced confrontation with absolute evil, of intimations of truth. To be published May 18. —CW

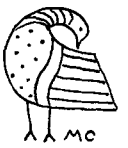
THE PETTY ILLUSION

Samuel T. Francis

Armed Truce: The Beginnings of the Cold War, 1945-46, by Hugh Thomas (Atheneum, 667 pp., $27.50)

Hugh Thomas's immense history of "the beginnings of the cold war"—the first volume in a projected series—comes close to telling more about the years 1945-46 than most readers will want to know. Mr. Thomas's theme is the gradual dawning upon Western leaders in 1946 that Josef Stalin was not really their friend—an illusion whose persistence, in the last months of World War II and during its aftermath, had enabled the Soviet dictator to consolidate power in Eastern Europe and come close to receiving atomic secrets as an open gift from the West.

Mr. Thomas's development of this theme is erudite, though sometimes obscured by the detail in which he envelops it. He focuses on the personalities of the leaders of East and West and not on the economic interests, national ambitions, or intellectual preconceptions that other historians have emphasized. Of the debate over the "origins of the cold war" he has little to say, except for occasional remarks on the wrongheadedness and irrelevance of the New Left revisionists. But he also omits any discussion of the roots of the illusion that possessed Western leaders then (and still affects their successors, perhaps more than ever), and that led some men into ill-starred careers of espionage and treason.



These fantasies about Stalin and the Soviets were not limited to the inanities of men like Joseph Davies, who held that the Soviet Union had "every moral right" to steal atomic secrets, or Henry Wallace, who found S. A. Goglidze, one of Beria's hatchetmen, "a very fine man, very efficient, gentle and understanding with people." Such remarks merely provide comic relief to the sadder, similar, and more influential notions of more important leaders.

Franklin Roosevelt found Josef Stalin at the Teheran Conference "truly representative of the heart and soul of Russia" and was certain "we are going to get along very well with him and the Russian people—very well indeed." Harry Truman confided to his diary that the Russian people have "always been friends, and I can't see any reason why they shouldn't always be." Winston Churchill, after the Yalta Conference, told his ministerial colleagues, "Poor Neville Chamberlain believed that he could trust Hitler. He was wrong. But I don't think I'm wrong about Stalin." After meeting Stalin in Moscow, Churchill reported that they talked together "with an ease, freedom, and cordiality never attained before between our two countries." Similar bubbly assessments of the greatest killer in history were common on the lips and in the heads of Western leaders in these years.

Particularly useful is Mr. Thomas's effort to place into perspective the role of those Western officials who, at a lower level, were actual agents of the Soviets: Kim Philby, Donald Maclean, Guy Burgess, the atom-bomb spies, and less notorious agents like Leo Long in MI-5 and John Cairncross in the Foreign Office, as well as American spies and/or "extravagant sympathizers" such as Mr. Thomas believes Harry Dexter White, Frank Coe,

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and Harold Glasser to have been. The defection of the Soviet cipher clerk Igor Gouzenko in Canada in 1945 alerted Mackenzie King to the fact "that the Soviet Union was concerned in intrigue on a vaster scale than Germany, Italy, or Japan had ever been," and King's conversation with Truman about Soviet espionage was probably influential in confirming the President's growing suspicion of the Soviets. It was during this conversation, on September 30, 1945, that Truman first learned from King that Gouzenko knew of "an Assistant Secretary" in the State Department as a Soviet agent, and Thomas reproduces a memorandum of a conversation in October 1946 between "Mr. D. D. Maclean" and "Mr. Alger Hiss." Thomas considers Hiss's guilt probable, though he may err on the side of caution in weighing the loyalty of other possible agents.

The compound of naïveté and treason in the West was instrumental not only in the ingestion of Eastern Europe by the Soviets and their surrogates but also in the perpetration of what is perhaps the most evil act in American history, the forced return to the USSR of Russians who had fled or defected to the Axis during the War. In January 1946, about four hundred Russians who had served under General Vlasov were delivered to Stalin by American troops.

> The men had been held in the ex-Nazi camp of Dachau. They refused to move. They begged to be shot rather than handed back. The embarrassed American soldiers turned tear gas on the huts and drove the unfortunates into the snow. Nine men hanged themselves, two stabbed themselves to death, six men escaped en route, and twenty lingered in hospital from self-inflicted wounds. The events concerned were among the most brutal aftermaths of the war. The numbers handed back exceeded two million in all, of whom several hundred thousand may have escaped and become absorbed in Western countries in the end.

Perhaps the Office of Special Investigations can locate these survivors and dispatch them back to Russia.

Eventually, of course, most Western leaders began to see what was going on in Moscow, Eastern Europe, and the Middle East, but even Churchill's Fulton speech in 1946, the first explicit public warning about Soviet aims by a major Western leader and the culmination of Mr. Thomas's book, was poorly received in the United States and Britain. The only people who seem to have been enthusiastic about it were the major Nazi war criminals, who would soon be hanged in Nuremberg. Mr. Thomas's own conclusion about Stalin and the menace he represented is firm and unexceptionable:

> There is no sign that Stalin wanted, or expected, to remain on friendly terms with the Western Allies in peace as he had done in war; or indeed could have done, given his loyalties, career, and personality. He was a Communist; after his fashion, a sincere one. He believed in peaceful co-existence where suitable, war where appropriate, and hostility without outright war where it seemed profitable. He would keep agreements till the "correlation of forces" dictated otherwise: "The Soviet Union always honors its word," he once told [Harry] Hopkins, adding *sotto voce*, "except in cases of extreme necessity."

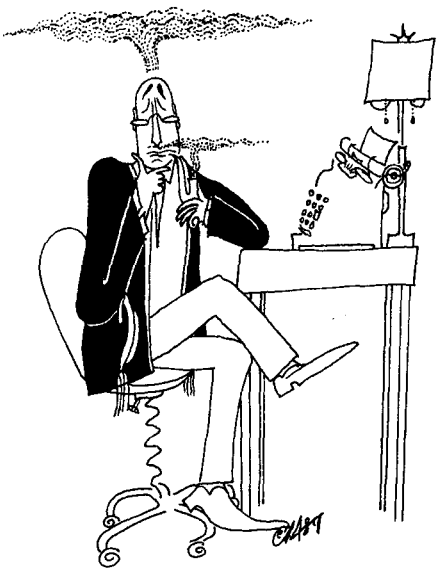
Why more than forty years has been required for the Western mind to grasp the truth of this assessment is a subject with which Mr. Thomas should deal more deeply in subsequent volumes of his series. □

A FAREWELL TO HISTORY

Robert Nisbet

The Search for Historical Meaning: Hegel and the Postwar Right, by Paul Edward Gottfried (Northern Illinois, 178 pp., $27)

THE MAIN argument of this extremely interesting book is that "Hegelian concepts shaped the historical attitudes and cultural judgments of prominent postwar conservatives, who because of their concern for personal freedom as a political and ontological value denounced Hegel and ascribed their own Hegelian ideas to less offensive sources." The author shoots with no blunderbuss. He makes it very plain that for the purposes of his study he is ignoring, on the one hand, acknowledged Hegelians who have had little influence on the development of contemporary conservatism and, on the other hand, conservatives, however prominent, in whom Hegelian ideas have played no part. The last includes



such conservative luminaries as Russell Kirk, William F. Buckley Jr., and Richard Weaver.

The major conservatives Gottfried considers for their Hegelian roots and cast of mind are Eric Voegelin, Frank Meyer, Karl Wittfogel, Will Herberg, and James Burnham. These names belong without question in the first rank of those conservatives who became prominent in American thought beginning in the late 1940s. All but Voegelin, it must be emphasized, had been Marxists for substantial parts of their lives, and their own absorption of Hegel was chiefly through Marx, who, in the preface to the second edition of *Capital*, ascribes to Hegel much of his own theory of value, his use of the dialectic in his methodology, and, not least, his conception of history as a unilinear, necessary, and purposive flow in time.

Gottfried tells us that each of these conservatives, Voegelin included, was reluctant, even unwilling, to concede a strain of Hegel in his own thinking—especially the thinking that followed his conversion from Marxism to conservatism. Although, as Gottfried points out, Hegelianism has very respectable roots in America, going back to 1866 and the founding of the St. Louis Philosophical Society, the truth is that Hegel was chiefly important in the American intellectual circles of the 1920s and after simply as a forerunner or pillar to Marx.

Nor did the situation change appreciably after the war. At the same time that the conservative efflorescence was beginning, so was a Hegel revival; a revival, it must be emphasized, featur-

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ing a new and radicalized Hegel. American intellectuals' introduction, in the late 1940s, to the Marx of the Paris essays—the "humanist" Marx—and the constantly growing popularity of such Marxians as the Hungarian Lukacs and the Italian Gramsci almost inevitably brought, before long, a profound interest in Hegel—not Hegel as the German conservative he was, but Hegel as a radical in his inmost being. Whereas in the 1930s Sidney Hook's *From Hegel to Marx* bespoke the general view of the matter, by the late 1950s books and articles were appearing on the Left with themes and sometimes titles like *From Marx to Hegel*. The meaning was clear. The revolution's best chance lay in an ever more strongly cultural/intellectual thrust into bourgeois society, and for this, not only the humanist Marx but also the profoundly, inextricably humanist Hegel would serve as guiding spirits.

The New Left's emphasis in the Sixties was thus overwhelmingly on radical culture, language, myth, and, perhaps above all, consciousness. Banished was the crude economism of the 1930s; also the flamboyant association with organized labor. The Marxism—and Hegelianism—of the postwar West has been very much a phenomenon of the humanities and of those social-science disciplines like sociology, political science, and especially anthropology where linkage with the humanities is close. This in no way implies a weaker Left in the universities: far from it. The radical message is conveyed more powerfully through channels Gramsci would gladly endorse—deconstruction, structuralism, and the like—than through those more primitive channels of the 1930s.

Paul Gottfried's star conservatives of the postwar era thus had some reason for their disinclination to advertise Hegel as an appreciable influence on their thinking. Given the torturing and twisting of Hegel by the New Left in this period, from the aristocratic conservative he so plainly was into a guru of Gramscian and Korschian Left heresies, there was no greater desire to admit a Hegelian than a Marxian aspect to the thinking they represented after the war.

Gottfried's principal touchstone for the detection of Hegelian influence is what he calls historicism; to wit, the envisioning of past, present, and future as seamlessly linked in a unilinear, inexorable, and necessary flow of humanity through time. In the nineteenth century, "progress" was the favored term for such a process. The great objective of Saint-Simon, Comte, Fichte, Hegel, Marx, and many another social philosopher was to determine once and for all "the law of progress."

But in the realm of philosophy—i.e., metaphysics, ontology, and ethics—Hegel was without question the supreme presence of the nineteenth century. His influence could be found almost everywhere, even in the Midwestern United States, even in the making of John Dewey's American pragmatism. Gottfried is correct in seeing the principle of interdependent development in Hegel as the pivot on which his larger philosophy rested. All things, including opposites, interpenetrate, said Hegel, and there has been no want since of minds to concur.

Gottfried proves his case, I believe, in ascribing Hegelianism with its "historicist" base to the conservatives he deals with in this book. Once a Hegelian, always a Hegelian, is probably the best summary. And Voegelin, never a Marxist, absorbed osmotically in his education the Hegel that is part

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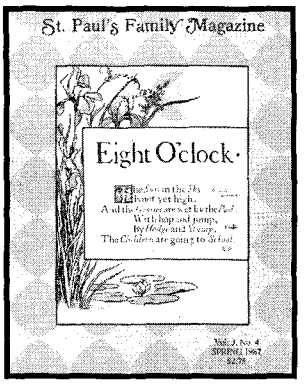

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of *Order and History* and its majestic rendering of the Western tradition from Judea to the modern West. Voegelin's great enterprise is in the mold of Hegel—only better, in this reviewer's opinion.

But it is actually less Hegel that Gottfried is ultimately concerned with than the use of the past, of history, and of development in the formation of a conservative philosophy. There are, after all, conservatives of consequence who, in effect, disdain history and our links with the past. Gottfried gives them short shrift, however, so far as their survival in modern thought is concerned. From his point of view, and mine, if conservative philosophy doesn't have what T. S. Eliot called the "usable past" as its inner force—if it, also in Eliot's phrasing, "disowns the past"—then it is hard to see how conservatism can avoid being ground into dust by liberals and radicals in a single pincer movement. Gottfried does not think that simple devotion to government-as-virtue and to the great books of the classical world will accomplish much. His criticisms of both the Straussians and the neoconservatives in this respect are acute. The ties between the conservatism that first Burke, then Hegel, founded and the Straussian canon are, Gottfried thinks, tenuous at best.

So, as it has happened, are the ties between the component forces of Reagan Conservatism. Some of us wrote five years ago that this purported conservatism wouldn't hold together even on the surface for more than a year or two; and it hasn't. How could it have, formed as it was of such discordant and intrinsically unruly forces as evangelicalism, populism, libertarianism, Far Right power ambitions, and political moralistics, not to forget neoconservatism in some measure? The few traditional conservatives in the mix were bound to become disoriented, as they mostly have.

Gottfried is aware of all this. His final chapter, "A Conservative Farewell to History," is superb; it could stand alone as an essay on the present age. He looks out on the Vanity Fair that is contemporary American culture, a compound of abstract expressionism, deconstruction, narcissism, radical and emasculating feminism, ascendant homosexuality, all snugged into the cash nexus, and, looking, doesn't buckle or falter. This chapter-essay is remarkably unsentimental, and stands, together with the chapters preceding, as the best and most provocative treatment of postwar American conservatism yet written. □

HAUGHTY BOYS, NAUGHTY BOYS

Helle Bering-Jensen

The Cambridge Apostles: A History of Cambridge University's Elite Intellectual Secret Society, by Richard Deacon (Farrar, 214 pp., $19.95)

The Red and the Blue: Cambridge, Treason, and Intelligence, by Andrew Sinclair (Little, Brown, 179 pp., $17.95)

WHEN John McTaggart referred to a fellow member of the Apostles, Cambridge University's secret society, as "taking unto himself a phenomenal wife," he did not mean to commend his friend's taste in women. As Richard Deacon's chatty and entertaining account of the Cambridge Conversazione Society (nicknamed the Apostles because it was founded by 12 evangelical students) reveals, "phenomenal" is not a compliment. "Phenomena" or "appearances" belong to the beastly world of the Philistines—that is, the rest of us. "Reality," on the other hand, is the province of the narrow circle of the Apostles themselves—the bright, the beautiful, and the superior. "Should we elect God?" (to membership in the Apostles, of course) was among their topics for discussion.

The fact that so many members ended up making an impact on the world (to name a few, Lord Tennyson, Bertrand Russell, Ludwig Wittgenstein, John Maynard Keynes, Lord Rothschild—as well as Anthony Blunt and Guy Burgess) makes the Society itself a worthwhile object of study—even if that study is complicated by the convention of secrecy, as indicated by an account given by Michael Straight, the American Communist, who became a member in 1936: "I held up my right hand and repeated a fearful oath, praying that my soul would writhe in unendurable pain for the rest of eternity if I so much as breathed a word about the Society to anyone who was not a member. . . . I asked Sheppard how he would define the term *Apostolic*. He beamed at me in his childish way. 'One must be *very* brilliant and extremely nice!' "

One of the most famous products of the Apostles was the Bloomsbury Group. Mr. Deacon has little affection for its members, who included Lytton Strachey, John Maynard Keynes, E. M. Forster, Roger Fry, and Duncan Grant—Apostles all. The author finds them guilty of promoting the spiritual malaise, the "wet rot" of doubt, nihilism, and pacifism, that eroded the English establishment from within and eventually, through books such as Forster's *A Passage to India* and Strachey's *Eminent Victorians*, cost Britain her empire. Still, this does not prevent the author from providing lively gossip about those two "predatious pederasts," Lytton Strachey and Maynard Keynes. By the first decade of the century, acknowledged homosexuality, as opposed to the undercurrents that had existed since the 1830s, was the norm among the Apostles. ("The Higher Sodomy," they called it.) In fact, Noël Coward's verse from *Bitter Sweet*, quoted by Mr. Deacon, captures the essence of this period perfectly:

Haughty boys, naughty boys, every pore
Bursting with self-inflation,
We feel we're rather Graecian.
As our manners indicate,
Our sense of moral values isn't strong.
For ultimate completion
We shall have to wait
Until the Day of Judgment comes along.

The Bloomsburyites' revolt against Victorian values sprung to a large degree from the anti-establishment tradition nourished among the Apostles since the club's founding in 1820. Early members had embraced Saint-Simonianism (a kind of sexually freewheeling socialism), the cause of Spanish Liberalism, and the undermining of the Church of England within the university. With a later generation, in the

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1920s and '30s, radicalism took a more serious turn, resulting in a blind devotion to Stalin's Soviet Union, which found Cambridge particularly fertile soil for the recruitment of spies.

This group of Apostles centered on the homosexual Mafia run by Anthony Blunt and Guy Burgess. These two gents, with their co-traitors Kim Philby, Donald Maclean, and Leo Long, are also the topic of Andrew Sinclair's *The Red and the Blue: Cambridge, Treason, and Intelligence*. Or, rather, they are part of Mr. Sinclair's study, which could have been called *A Tale of Two Cultures*, taking a cue from C. P. Snow's discussion of the two opposed cultures, the humanistic and the scientific.

In this broad, readable, and fast-paced account, the author assesses the impact on Western security and world peace of these two groups. On the one hand, there is the Apostles' passion for secrecy and their elitism, the loyalty to the group (exemplified in E. M. Forster's notorious comment, "If I had to choose between betraying my country and my friend, I hope I should have the guts to betray my country"), which made them ideal spies.

On the other hand, there is the idealism of the scientists at Cambridge's Cavendish Laboratory (where the atom was split in 1932), who considered the free flow of scientific information far more important than the mind-boggling potential of their nuclear experiments. Mr. Sinclair clearly sympathizes with the scientists and their brave-new-world ambitions, displaying a rather simpleminded nostalgia for a pre-Hiroshima age of innocence.

In terms of practical application, Mr. Sinclair argues, the scientists won hands down; the secrets passed on by the spies who infiltrated the British security services, MI-5 and MI-6, were negligible by comparison with the information more or less openly circulated in the scientific community. (Donald Maclean, it was said, didn't know the difference between a cyclotron and a hairdrier.) The contribution of the scientific community derives largely from the decision by Ernest Rutherford to accept the brilliant young Soviet physicist Peter Kapitsa as his protégé in 1921. Rutherford's only stipulation: That Kapitsa not mix politics with the study of physics!

In the course of his 13 years at Cambridge, Kapitsa gathered invaluable knowledge in the fields of fission and atom research, which made him one of the founders of Soviet nuclear physics and an advisor on the making of Soviet atomic and hydrogen bombs. When he remained in the Soviet Union in 1934, unable to continue his research, his colleagues sent him the entire contents of his laboratory, complete with chairs, desks, clocks, and research assistants—all of which were in scarce supply in the workers' paradise. Suspecting that the British state might take umbrage at this proof of scientific brother feeling, his colleagues smuggled these items out of the country. So much for not mixing politics and science.

Concerning the Apostles, in contrast, the author writes, "Rarely . . . has so much been written about so few who achieved so little." This is surely unfair. The Cambridge traitors achieved a great deal, at least if the betrayal of

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a lot of hapless individuals counts—thousands of White Russians, for example, who, having fled Russia in 1919, were not covered by the Yalta agreement. Still, they were forcibly repatriated after World War II, partly through the agency of Anthony Blunt.

Nor were their accomplishments minor when one considers the damage done to the British secret services. So securely entrenched were the moles that behavior indicating obvious security risks—drunkenness, debauchery, homosexuality—only resulted in their promotion to even more sensitive positions. The intelligence establishment was closing ranks to protect what it believed to be its own. As Harold Macmillan asserted in the House of Commons about Guy Burgess, "Until the day of his disappearance, there were no grounds for suspecting that he worked against the security of the state. He had been indiscreet, but then indiscretion is not generally the characteristic of a secret agent."

Mr. Sinclair shows much good sense in not trying to make these people cute or romantic, as many other recounters of their stories—such as Alan Bennett in his play *An Englishman Abroad*—have done. Far too often, the viciousness of treason is forgotten and forgiven by intellectuals in the West. At Gorbachev's recent forum on nuclear disarmament in Moscow, Graham Greene was observed slipping out quietly. It was said he wanted to pay Kim Philby a visit. □

POSTHUMOUS EXISTENCE

Jeffrey Meyers

Robert Graves: The Assault Heroic, 1895-1926, by Richard Perceval Graves (Viking, 387 pp., $24.95)

ROBERT GRAVES—a major modern poet and author of *I, Claudius*, *The Greek Myths*, and *The White Goddess*—was born in London in 1895 and died two years ago in Majorca at the age of ninety. His grandfather was the Protestant Bishop of Limerick, his father a popular Irish poet and Inspector of Schools, his adoring and possessive German mother related to the historian Leopold von Ranke. He grew up in a stifling religious atmosphere that turned him into a young prig and took decades, as well as an atheistic wife, to overcome. He suffered the typical bullying and misery during his early years at Charterhouse school, and escaped to holidays in Bavaria and Wales, and to boxing and poetry, to heal his body and soul. After studying incompetently taught Latin and Greek for 14 years, he questioned the wisdom of prolonging his classical education at St. John's, Oxford, where he had won a minor scholarship.

The Great War broke out a week after Graves finished school. Like most of his contemporaries, he thought the war would be over by Christmas; he joined the Royal Welch Fusiliers, and fought at Loos. Gas drifted back into British lines and the bombardment fell short, killing survivors of the suicidal attack that had been launched to provide a slight diversion. In July 1916 on the Somme, where there were sixty thousand casualties on the first day of battle, he "heard an explosion and felt as though [he] had been punched rather hard between the shoulder blades, but had no sensation of pain." A high-speed shell fragment had pierced his right lung and come out through his chest. The doctors declared there was no chance of survival and he was pronounced officially dead in the *Times*. But the reports of his death were greatly exaggerated and he publicly proclaimed his resurrection. Graves later commented that by the age of 23 he had "learned to lie, loved unhappily, been married, gone to war, taken life, procreated my kind, rejected formal religion, won fame, and been killed." In November 1916 he was found fit to rejoin his regiment and sent overseas for his fourth tour of duty in northern France.

Graves's friend and fellow poet Siegfried Sassoon, who had been decorated for bravery and shell-shocked in combat, suffered terrifying hallucinations and "saw corpses lying about on the pavement." In 1917 Sassoon defied military authority by publicly declaring that "this war, upon which I entered as a war of defense and liberation, has now become a war of aggression and conquest." Graves saved Sassoon from court-martial and perhaps the firing squad by convincing the Medical Board that he had suffered a mental collapse. Sent to Craiglockhart Hospital near Edinburgh, Sassoon was treated by a

"Just about every interesting question that could be asked about reforming the monetary system is discussed by the distinguished contributors to this volume. It is essential reading."
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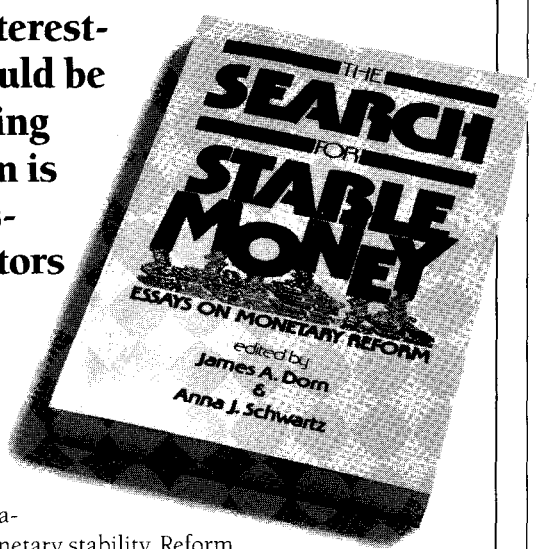

Leading scholars examine the erratic nature of Federal Reserve policy and consider alternative arrangements for securing monetary stability. Reform proposals include constraining the Federal Reserve with a money-growth rule, freezing the monetary base, denationalizing money, and implementing a gold standard. Contributors include *Milton Friedman, F.A. Hayek, James Buchanan, Axel Leijonhufvud, Karl Brunner, Fritz Machlup, Anna Schwartz,* and *Leland Yeager.* $30 cloth/$13.95 paper/408 pp.

A Cato Institute book published by
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sympathetic psychologist and met the greatest war poet, Wilfred Owen.

Graves also suffered severe shell-shock and nervous collapse throughout the 1920s. "Shells used to come bursting on my bed at midnight," he wrote, and "strangers in daytime would assume the faces of friends who had been killed." He irritated, alienated, or lost the friends who had survived the war; tried psychoanalysis; and during the following decade remained emotionally and financially dependent on his parents. They used their influence to arrange everything from military postings to university exams.

Graves's problems were intensified by his marriage, in 1918, to a fanatical feminist and sister of the painter Ben Nicholson. Nancy shocked Graves's family by rejecting the marriage service, refusing to wear a wedding ring, retaining her maiden name, and dressing offensively in farm trousers. At the wedding feast, she grabbed a bottle of champagne and exclaimed: "I'm going to get *something* out of this!" On their wedding night (both were virgins) the embarrassments were somewhat eased by an air raid. Sassoon, who found Graves "uncouth and charming, affectionate and impulsive," thought Nancy "queer and uncouth, concealing her shyness behind a mask of sharp-tongued reserve."

In writing this volume on the first third of his uncle's life, R. P. Graves had two major difficulties: Robert described his own life up to 1929 in *Goodbye to All That*, perhaps the greatest autobiography of the century; and Martin Seymour-Smith in 1982 published an excellent biography (reviewed in *NR*, March 18, 1983) of Robert's entire life. R. P. Graves's book, by contrast, has significant weaknesses. His very short chapters produce a fragmented effect. He is obsessed by family trivia, so that the first hundred pages are quite boring. He is very repetitive about Robert's financial problems when he disastrously attempted to run a village shop while studying at Oxford in the early 1920s. And he does not fully explain the most vital questions of Robert's life: the psychological effect of his posthumous existence after he had been "killed" in the war; the etiology of Nancy's character; his abject submission to his wife, and to the Indian crank Basanta Mallik; why the impoverished couple had four children in five years; the nature of his friendships with Thomas Hardy, Wilfred Owen, and T. E. Lawrence.

R. P. Graves does not mention that Sassoon, Edward Marsh, and Robert Ross objected to Robert's marriage because they were homosexual, nor does he reveal that the unhappy relations between Laura Riding (Robert's future muse and mistress) and the Southern Fugitive poets were caused by the breakup of her affair with Allen Tate. Most importantly, though the author states his chief purpose is "to bring us to a greater understanding of the truths which the poet seeks to express," he does not face the fact that, compared to Owen and Sassoon, Graves in his early poetry was sentimental, his diction and technique obsolete. The superficial analysis of the poems fails to illuminate the development of the young Robert Graves. □

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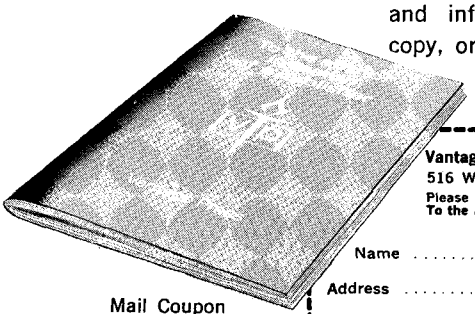

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FICTION

DEATH IN THE RUINS

Robert Royal

The Thanatos Syndrome, by Walker Percy (Farrar, 372 pp., $17.95)

"TWO YEARS in the clink have taught me a thing or two.

"I don't have to be in a demonic hurry as I used to be.

"I don't have to plumb the depths of 'modern man' as I used to think I had to. Nor worry about 'the human condition' and suchlike. My scale is smaller."

Thus a chastened Dr. Thomas More, psychiatrist and inventor (in Percy's earlier novel, *Love in the Ruins*) of More's Qualitative-Quantitative Ontological Lapsometer, a device that might have repaired the damage of the Fall if a Faustian pact with the Devil had not perverted the discovery.

As *The Thanatos Syndrome* begins, Dr. More has just returned from two years in prison for selling uppers and downers to Louisiana truckers, because, he says, he needed the money. He has also mostly shed his former promiscuous urges, no longer wavers on the edge of committal to a psychiatric ward, and has stopped hitting the bottle—well, almost, anyway.

In his slower, small-scale dispensation, he would like to settle down to being an old-fashioned "soul doctor," helping people to better lives through a better understanding of themselves.

THE RIGHT BOOKS / CHILTON WILLIAMSON JR.

THE Puebla Institute is a lay Catholic human-rights group, founded in 1982 by Humberto Belli, a Nicaraguan lawyer, sociologist, and former editorial-page editor of *La Prensa*, the opposition newspaper shut down at last by the Sandinistas in June 1986. Over the past four years, the institute has published a number of instructive works pertaining to the left-wing takeover of Nicaragua; and now it has launched a bimonthly publication, *Nicaragua in Focus*, whose concern, in the words of its editor, Joseph E. Davis, is with "the defense of religious and other human rights in Latin America, particularly Nicaragua, where the Catholic Church (as well as some of the smaller Protestant bodies) has struggled to maintain its independence in a Marxist revolutionary state." *Nicaragua in Focus* sells for $3 per copy and is also available for a membership contribution; institutions may subscribe for $15 per year. (The Puebla Institute is located at 44 West 36th Street, New York, N.Y. 10018.) The first number consists of an introductory essay by Mr. Davis, and excellent articles by Douglas Payne, who is Assistant to the Director of the Center for Caribbean and Central American Studies at Freedom House, and Nina Shea, Washington Director of the Puebla Institute.

In launching a magazine about Nicaragua, Davis tells us, two considerations were foremost. The first was the need of Christians in Nicaragua for outside support; the second, the unclear picture many, if not most, Americans have of the civil-rights picture there. Although certain people in this country have concluded that the Sandinistas have lost all concern for what the United States thinks, Davis finds no evidence to support that view.

> The Sandinistas are not indifferent to U.S. opinion. In fact, nearly every public statement the Sandinistas make suggests that they care about their image in the U.S. and that they care desperately. However, when deciding on repressive measures, the Sandinistas can count on a very vocal minority of U.S. citizens to excuse or justify their actions and on the vast majority to remain virtually silent. . . . Although Sandinista policies are subject to their own dynamics, they are not impervious to outside influences. But the right amount of influence must be brought to bear.

"The Sandinistas and Human Rights," by Payne, is reprinted by permission of *Public Law Review*. It gives a concise history of the status of civil rights in Nicaragua under the Sandinista regime, from Interior Minister Tomás Borge's revealing statement to the Inter-American Commission on Human Rights of the Organization of American States in 1980 ("The most important thing is our historic, *strategic* [my italics] decision to be in favor of human rights") to the regime's current success in deflecting attention from its own policies by focusing it instead upon abuses perpetrated by the military opposition, as well as, of course, upon the U.S. Government's acting in aid of that opposition. "When the issue is so reduced," Mr. Payne comments, "when human rights are separated from the democratization process and threaten to become the determining factor in formulating U.S. policy, then the Sandinistas are succeeding."

"Human Rights in Nicaragua," by Nina Shea, is reprinted by permission of *The New Republic*. Those who did not catch it in that forum last year are in for a treat, if that is the correct term to use in connection with so grisly a piece of reporting. "There is no question," Miss Shea writes, "that by now the Sandinistas have severely restricted basic civil liberties. As the Organization of American States' Inter-American Commission on Human Rights concluded in 1985: 'There is no atmosphere of respect and tolerance for persons who profess other than official beliefs and ideologies.' " The commissioners' restraint is, to say the least, underwhelming, to judge from Miss Shea's facts. In Nicaragua, those who refuse to shut up or surrender are free to leave, and more than 200,000 have done so. The hardier dissenters, however, are made more and more to feel the fires of ideological righteousness. Political prisoners in Daniel Ortega's Nicaragua are held in despicable conditions in inhumane prisons, frequently in isolation, and frequently for the purpose of torture. If you belong to the Social Democratic Party Youth, or the wrong labor union, or the private Christian Parent-Teacher Union, etc., you are a candidate for a good working over.

A secret Special Investigations Commission, established within the Interior Ministry by Tomás Borge, ostensibly to investigate missing-persons claims, was actually intended to prepare plausible-sounding denials of violence, illegal arrests, and political murder. *Nicaragua in Focus* is off to a good start by showing us that there is nothing special about the Sandinistas' Nicaragua, save in the beholding of political gangsters and their apologists. □

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But he begins to notice something odd going on. First of all, there do not seem to be many patients around any more. Then, strange behavior shows up among his former psychiatric patients, his wife, and otherwise sane people. Is it just some trick of perspective after two years away? How is it that many people simultaneously show prodigious memories and an almost total loss of a sense of self? Few patients are coming in with the old classical anxiety and depression symptoms. After some inquiries, he makes a discovery.

A group of well-meaning scientists has begun an unauthorized experiment in "public health," mixing heavy sodium in the drinking water of Feliciana Parish, the way some medical pioneers secretly introduced fluoride a few decades earlier: The results: Crime and teenage pregnancy decrease 85 per cent, child abuse decreases 87 per cent, suicide 95 per cent, wife battering 73 per cent. Average IQs are up 20 per cent, and many people exhibit total recall. Homosexual urges wane, while heterosexual libido is enhanced. The only negative side effects: Human behavior regresses to the level of the lower primates, and people talk in two-word sentences.

Having uncovered the experiment, More is able to stop the director of the project with various threats. One of the conditions More imposes: The director, who also runs a "Qualitarian Life Center," must release to the hospice of More's old friend, Father Simon Smith, the infants and old people currently subject to "pedeuthanasia" and "gereuthanasia." (We are just a few years in the future, and the director defends himself: "You're talking about violating the law of the land . . . *Doe* v. *Dade*, the landmark case decided by the U.S. Supreme Court which decreed, with solid scientific evidence, that the human infant does not achieve personhood until 18 months.")

The life-over-death theme is the obbligato to an otherwise commonplace, if instructive, medical detective story. Medicine is busy finding all sorts of ways to improve human life by, one way or another, eliminating . . . human life! Though More has grown all but indifferent to Catholicism, Father Smith, with his willingness to care for these cases, impresses him as more humane than his medical colleagues. Asked why he became a priest, Smith replies only, "Life or death. What else?"

The good father has not entirely escaped the religious nuttiness of the late twentieth century. During a conversation in which More observes in him "the supersane chipperness of the true nut," Father Smith explains that Satan, the Great Depriver, has succeeded in evacuating almost all human meaning in the twentieth century save the persistence of the Jews as a sign. As we learn later, he thinks that God has given men over to themselves for a hundred years, with the result that faith wars with reason, and thus even our most humane—and non-believing—contemporaries, the doctors, have become in their very niceness the agents of the Great Prince:

> You are a member of the first generation of doctors in the history of medicine to turn their backs on the oath of Hippocrates and kill millions of old useless people, unborn children, born malformed children, for the good of mankind—and to do so without a single murmur from one of you. Not a single letter of protest in the august *New England Journal of Medicine*. And do you know what you're going to end up doing? You a graduate of Harvard and a reader of the *New York Times* and a member of the Ford Foundation's Program for the Third World? . . . You're going to end up killing Jews.

Amid Father Smith's ravings, it becomes clear that there's a kernel of truth in this saviors-of-mankind as murderers-of-mankind, when men are convinced they are sufficient to save themselves. He thinks Rousseau, Skinner, perhaps even Charles Kuralt may be not all that different from Robespierre, Stalin, or Hitler. At least the *thanatos*

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(Gr. "death") syndrome and love of death we see widespread in different forms in both East and West might be accounted for along such lines.

This story unfolds with Percy's uncanny sense of the peculiarities of Southern life overlaid by modern electronic culture, and the old Percy humor occasionally rises to its full height. But most readers of Percy will feel that they have already come upon most of this material elsewhere in his work; the one new wrinkle is Dr. Percy's vitriol for his former medical colleagues.

Percy himself seems to have accepted the modest scale of Tom More rather than the quixotic attempt to "save the human race." On his own theory, anything more, under current conditions, may be perilous. One result of this new realization is that, though the language is occasionally luminescent, we no longer get the sheer pyrotechnics of the early Percy. His novels after *Love in the Ruins* show diminished power of imagination, and *The Thanatos Syndrome*, although a good read, possesses neither as complex a narrative nor as sustained a virtuosity of form as the early novels.

Furthermore, some of the characterization is downright implausible: Would Dr. More really have sold prescriptions to truckers because he "needed the money"? His religious sensibilities seem to have become blunted over the years, but it's hard to believe he would have slept casually and rather coldly with a distant cousin, as he does early on in this story. In the absence of a strong current of invention, these anomalies make the story creak in places, though overall it is clearly a step back up from his previous novel, *The Second Coming*.

Percy remains one of our finest living writers, and his ethical concerns and philosophical depth put him in a class by himself on the American literary scene. He appears less demonically driven than in the past; perhaps some better spirits may now return him to a more inspired imagination. Even by the high standards that Percy has already led us to expect of him, this is still a very good book indeed, and promises further lasting additions to our moral and literary life. □

FILM

NO ORDINARY JOE

John Simon

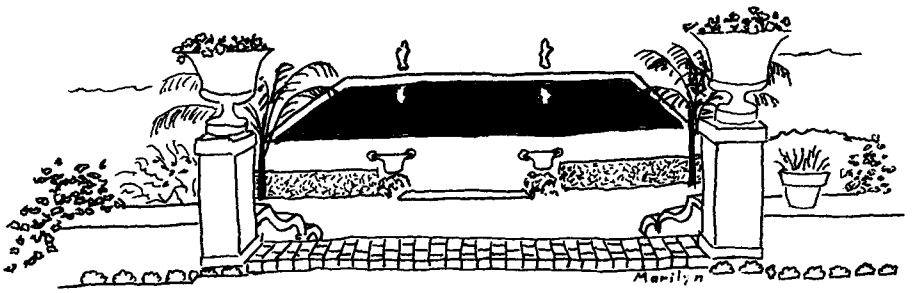
THE PLAYWRIGHT Joe Orton, who was bludgeoned to death in 1967 by his lover, Kenneth Halliwell, after a 16 years' relationship, is the subject of the most explicitly and exultantly homosexual mainstream film in the English language, *Prick Up Your Ears*. The educated, middle-class Halliwell met the eight-years-younger Orton, a working-class youth of 17 from Leicester, when both were students at the Royal Academy of Dramatic Art. They moved into a small flat paid for by Halliwell, who undertook the education of young John, the disciple subsequently changing his name to Joe, so he wouldn't be confused with John Osborne.

Halliwell, who was good-looking but began losing his hair by age 23, was an unsuccessful novelist, playwright, and (later) collage-ist, who nevertheless was able to stimulate and help develop his lover's talent. Their attempts at joint writing failed; their campy and obscene defacings of library books landed them in jail for six months. There Orton wrote—alone—what was to be his first produced TV play, which he later reworked for the stage, and so began a spectacular playwriting career that left Halliwell far behind.

Sexually, too, Joe surpassed Kenneth, who wasn't cut out for the life of promiscuous pickups, which Orton wallowed in more and more. This may have been partly owing to Ken's bourgeois upbringing (though neither was Orton's family, with the exception of sister Leonie, sympathetic to Joe's activities), partly to his fading looks and waning sexual powers, partly to his involvement with and investment in Joe, whom he did not want to lose. Above all, however, Halliwell envied his lover's growing success, wealth, and fame, even as he was sexually jealous of him.

Although Ken acted as secretary and housekeeper to Joe, he was mostly the older wife losing her hold on a younger, more successful husband. Ken made scenes at parties Joe took him to, bored or alienated the show-business and society figures Orton moved among, took profuse sedatives, and sought (as well as avoided) medical and psychiatric help. He was a fiasco and knew it, for all his assistance with Joe's plays and life. In the fear that Joe would drop him—a fear nurtured by the extremely outspoken diary Joe kept leaving around for him to read—Halliwell took a hammer, went up to his sleeping lover, and methodically bashed his head to a pulp. Then he calmly stripped naked, swallowed 22 Nembutals with grapefruit juice, and died easily and much faster than Orton, whose brains and blood bespattered the walls Halliwell had covered with his photo-collages. This homosexual *Liebestod* was not of the Tristan and Isolde variety.

You get a sense of how the movie—based on the biography by John Lahr, with a screenplay by Alan Bennett (playwright, scenarist, and Beyond the Fringer), and directed by Stephen Frears (of, rather overratedly, *My Beautiful Laundrette* fame)—errs or cheats from the very way it handles the murder-suicide. In the movie, Halliwell hammers away at his lover's back—not, as in reality, his head: It was Orton's brain, not his body, that he especially envied and desired. And, of course, there is absolutely no evidence for his lovingly muttering, "Joe! . . . John!" after the murder. And, like Lahr's equally mediocre biography, the movie begins with that murder, then moves back in time, and works up to—in fuller detail—the murder again. The pretense of explaining the social and psychological causes allows for much sexual and sensational exploitation, and the murder, which



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we get coming and going, crowns it all.

Just what is the film trying to say? At first, it uses a quasi-documentary structure, ostensibly chronicling how John Lahr (played by Wallace Shawn, who can't act but looks like Lahr, only worse) researches Orton's life to write the biography. Very sporadically, we get glimpses of Lahr dopily questioning people, notably Peggy Ramsay, the scrappy theatrical agent who helped make Orton a success, and members of Orton's family. This spurious and disruptive technique is soon abandoned, but not before it has served two tendentious purposes.

A parallel is implied between the heterosexual marriage of the American John Lahr and Anthea, his wealthy, upper-class English wife, and the homosexual quasi-marriage of Orton and Halliwell. The suggestion is that the same envy and rivalry obtain in both; so we are shown the Lahrs collaborating on the Orton biography (which in fact is credited to John alone, though Anthea doubtless helped), and also how Anthea sulks and carries on because John is getting all the glory. (Lindsay Duncan, who plays her, is much too good for the role.) We are not shown the Lahrs' son, however, lest the balance swing toward heterosexual unions.

The second implication is that bourgeois respectability—whether as practiced by Anthea and her stuffy mother on the upper rungs, or, up to a point, by Halliwell on the lower—doesn't have a patch on the unencumbered, freewheeling fun of Orton's life, complete with orgies in public lavatories and Moroccan vacations where one revels with any number of boy prostitutes. The lower classes, as embodied by various lesser Ortons as well as by the couple on the ground floor of the house in Islington where Joe and Ken shared a last, still very modest flat, seem equally frustrated and edgy, as well as nosy and meddlesome; the elder Ortons, in fact, are shown living in a homemade inferno.

Contrariwise, all the casual homosexual relationships, notwithstanding Ken's jealous inveighing against Joe's promiscuity, are depicted as adventuresome and satisfying despite the odd narrow escape from that tool of hypocrisy and oppression, the police. Even where the scenario more or less follows Orton's diaries—now published, then available in large chunks from Lahr's biography, whose mainstay they were—there are some significant changes. Thus the debauch in "a little *pissoir*" on the Holloway Road, which involved Orton and eight strangers, took place in darkness because "somebody had taken the bulb away." In the film, there are several bulbs that get unscrewed in an elaborate choreography ("put out the light and then put out the light") involving lifts and going up on *pointes* —though what goes up must go down —and the whole thing takes on a romantic balletic quality. Similarly, the film invents a scene in which Joe loses his virginity to Ken as they watch on TV the coronation of Queen Elizabeth II (very jolly and iconoclastic, that!).

The problem with all this is that it mistakenly turns actual life into a cruel farce in the manner of an Orton play. Certainly that is how Orton perceived life, as his diaries make abundantly clear. A typical episode reported in them has Orton absconding from his mother's funeral with the corpse's dentures, only to hand them later, backstage, to a horrified actor about to go on in *Loot* in a scene involving comic business with *his* dead mother's

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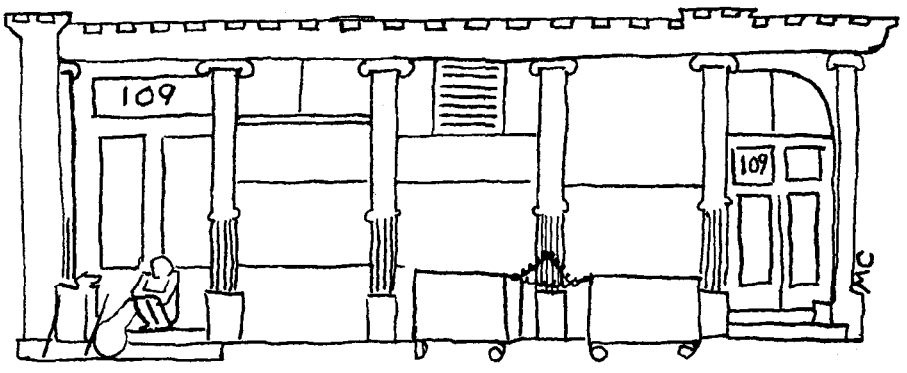
dentures: "Here, I thought you'd like the originals." (This incident is, needless to say, in the film.) Oscar Wilde, from whom Orton learned so much, claimed that nature imitates art; it took Orton, however, to put that precept into action. And Alan Bennett contributes his own tuppennyworth. Thus to the factual scene in which Leonie Orton mixes the dead lovers' ashes, he adds this bit: "LEONIE: I think I am putting in more of Joe than of Ken. PEGGY RAMSAY: It's a gesture, dear, not a recipe." Which doesn't even make minimal sense: Obviously one transfers the entire content of one urn into the other.

Unfortunately, what works in absurdist stage comedy does not work in a screen biography. The snuffing out of a gifted playwright's life so near the beginning of his dazzling career is humanly and artistically too terrible a loss to be laughingly digested along with irreverent jokes and casual copulations. Moreover, the film makes the life seem too easy, as if Orton had gone from success to success; in fact, he also had some flops and other setbacks. Most disturbing of all is the inescapable feeling in the viewer of watching a film that would not have been made but for that grisly ending and the excuse for depicting explicit homosexual acts.

Gary Oldman's performance as Orton, whom he physically resembles, is an unqualified triumph; Vanessa Redgrave is fine as Peggy, and there's solid work from the entire supporting cast, save Wallace Shawn. A graver error is the miscasting of the talented Alfred Molina as Halliwell—a handsome man portrayed by a hulking cross between Lee J. Cobb and Peter Lorre. Was Molina cast to add a comic element to the film? Or was his goofy appearance meant to justify Orton's infidelities? Or are there some special, private reasons? By making the Orton-Halliwell relatonship jokier than it actually was, the film gives up a further chance to be something more than a giggly whine about the heterosexual world's incomprehension of homosexuals and its allegedly fatal consequences. □



BOOKS IN BRIEF

Dostoyevsky and the Catholic Church, by Denis Dirscherl, SJ (Loyola University, 177 pp., $12.95)

DENIS DIRSCHERL'S brief study of one facet in the world view of Fyodor Dostoyevsky will satisfy the curiosity of readers who may have wondered whether the Legend of the Grand Inquisitor in *The Brothers Karamazov* actually reflected the great Russian novelist's view of the Catholic Church, or merely that of the sinister Ivan Karamazov. The suspicion in which Moscow, the Third Rome, held its Western counterpart was many hundreds of years old when Dostoyevsky was born. Nurtured by anti-Roman grievances transmitted from Byzantium, Russian ill-will toward Catholicism had been further ingrained by incessant struggles with Catholic Poland and by the emergence of Uniate Catholicism in Russia's borderlands. In the mid nineteenth century, the Russian Orthodox Church, although humbled by its subordination to Czardom, began to receive the reverent respect of an influential group of literary men, who valued its traditionalism in contrast to Western rationalism. Dostoyevsky was not part of this original group —he was undergoing a purgation of early socialistic views in a Siberian prison. But after he emerged, he began vigorously to champion Orthodoxy, with its emphasis on mysticism and on suffering, and he singled out the pious Russian peasant as the sole true practitioner of Christianity in a degraded world. And who were Christianity's chief antagonists? In his *Diary* and elsewhere he points an accusing finger at the Catholic Church and at socialism, which he saw as pursuing the same destructive ends: robbing man of his spiritual freedom and forcing him to submit to cold authority, which is too jealous of its prerogatives to allow Christ's love to shine through. Especially fearsome were the Jesuits, and the supposed implications of papal infallibility, which caused consternation in so many quarters in 1870. Late in his life, Dostoyevsky befriended another, much younger genius, with whom he spent some time at the famous Optina Pustyn monastery new Moscow. The younger man was Vladimir Solovyov, and it seems, to an admirer of Dostoyevsky, a pity that this encounter with one of the outstanding ecumenical spirits of the nineteenth century could not have taken place earlier in his literary career. DAVID ROONEY

Players' Choice, by Eugene V. McCaffrey and Roger A. McCaffrey (Facts on File, 226 pp., $16.95)

YOU HAVE to be a lot more of a fan than I am to savor every nuance of this book, but even the most casual follower of baseball (which is to say, any American) will find interesting things here. Baseball accolades—such as places in the Hall of Fame—are traditionally awarded by sportswriters. What the McCaffreys did was to mail out a questionnaire to every living major-league player, coach, or manager, past or present; 645 answered. George Bush, first baseman for Yale, 1947-48, wrote the foreword. (Ethan Allen, who coached Yale after 12 years in the major leagues, says of the Vice President: "A *very* good defensive player. . . . He worked hard at his hitting.") Who had the best spitball? Gaylord Perry. What city has the best fans? Highpockets Kelly says: "A winner." How much would you be worth today? Phil Linz says: "I gotta think at least thirty thousand a year." What baseball writer understood the game best? First place—Red Smith; second—Dick Young; third—"None of them." Special note to Red Sox fans: Who was the best hitter in the clutch? By a wide margin, Ted Williams. Happy hunting. RICHARD BROOKHISER

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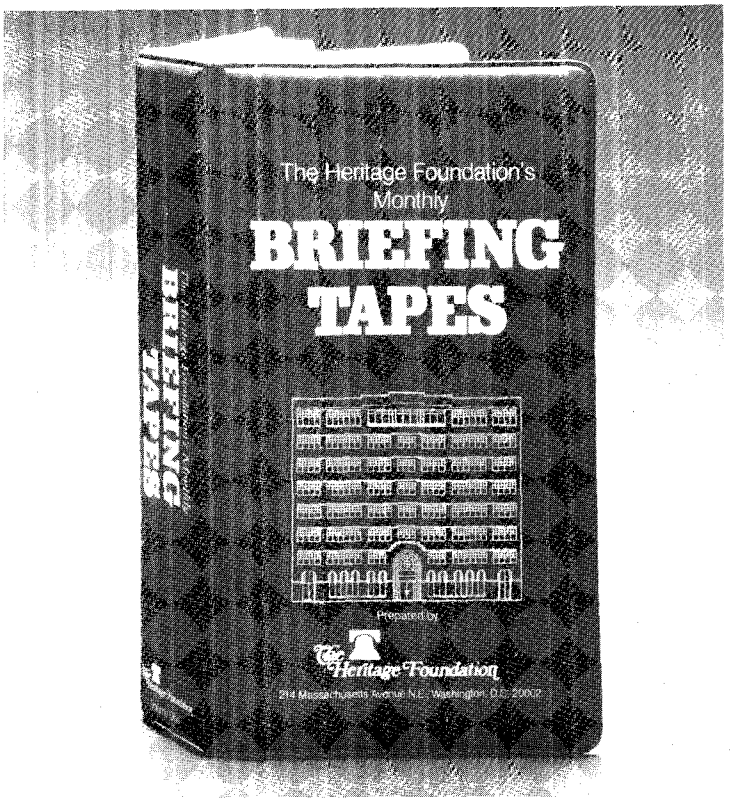

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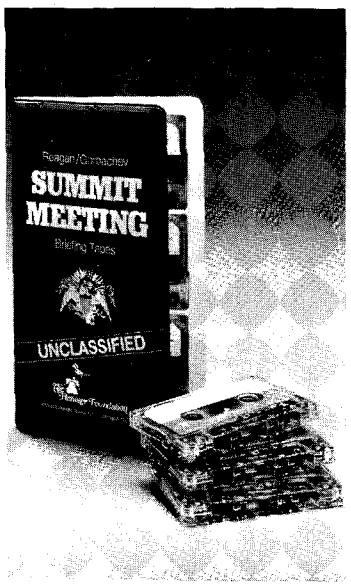

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AIDS: AND THEN, WHAT?

NEW YORK, APRIL 27

STEPHEN JAY GOULD, the popular (and learned) biologist from Harvard, has come in with a scientific view of the AIDS virus from which we learn a great deal, but not enough.

He begins by telling us that AIDS is simply one more of nature's anti-human phenomena, of which history records a multiplicity. The last time around it was the flu epidemic of 1918, which for a while looked as though it was competing to prove that nature could kill as many human beings as dumb statesmen could. We have had relatively gentle times since then, and also a lot of striking victories, for instance against smallpox; but all that time, nature was ticking away, and listen to what Professor Gould now says:

AIDS—he repeats—"is both a natural phenomenon and, potentially, the greatest natural tragedy in human history." Elsewhere, Professor Gould is more explicit. "Yes, AIDS may run through the entire population, and may carry off a quarter or more of us." And "us" as here used clearly doesn't mean a quarter of us Ugandans. It means a quarter of us human beings.

A coincidental exchange with a businessman, the day before the appearance of Mr. Gould's essay in *The New York Times Magazine*, probed a question not widely dwelled upon, namely, "How can we afford to treat AIDS patients?" If you take Gould's figure (one-quarter of the population), round it off (fifty million Americans), and then round off the cost of the treatment of each AIDS patient ($200,000), you get—by the time the disease is controlled or has run its course—an expenditure of the one figure times the other, which comes to ten trillion dollars. An overhead of ten trillion added to our present overhead would mean economic chaos —or the development of a Black Plague convention about AIDS patients (let them die; preferably in quarantine). The first development would ruin us as a viable industrial society. The second would destroy our soul.

So, then, what?

It is easy to say, Let us appropriate more money in order to attempt to find that wonderful vaccine! And, indeed, we should invest heavily in a cure for AIDS, while reminding ourselves that we have spent a great deal of money over two generations searching out a cure for cancer without convincing victories. But cancer is not spectacularly contagious, and AIDS is. Mr. Gould lapses into the catechistic mode only once in his essay, when he tells us that we were indifferent to the virus until we discovered that even quite orthodox people could suffer from it: "If AIDS had first been imported from Africa into a Park Avenue apartment, we would not have dithered as the exponential march began." That is probably true, but it is also true that by Gould's own reckoning, at most three years were lost. Awful as the deaths have been, those three years have killed approximately 15,000 people; and if we are talking fifty million dead, then the cost of the delay, measured in macrocosmic terms, is not heavy: Fifty million less 15,000 would be an accountant's rendering of it.

What Professor Gould has not come up with is any hint of an answer to the social question of how to confine a disease that is "an issue that may rank with nuclear weaponry as the greatest danger of our era." It is correct to suggest that the mills ground slowly in harnessing our laboratories and scientists to the aid of AIDS. But our social reflexes are also very lethargic.

SIXTEEN MONTHS AGO, in a thinking-out-loud exchange with Professor Alan Dershowitz, I suggested that perhaps AIDS carriers should be tattooed discreetly, to protect uncontaminated sexual or needle partners. This proposal reminded everyone of Auschwitz, and I have seen, in print, that Mr. Buckley "wants to tattoo all homosexuals." It is as though anyone who found a use for barbed wire was secretly a concentration-camp fetishist. Never mind: I quickly withdrew the proposal for the simple reason that it proved socially intolerable.

I have ever since been waiting for a socially tolerable alternative to be proposed by such as Stephen Jay Gould. Everyone is supposed to use a condom from now on, and clean needles should repose alongside public telephones. I am all for that. But surely more—much more—is needed if we are facing a greater threat than nuclear weapons. What about people who have the virus, don't know they have it, and are passing it on to others? Has Professor Gould a suggestion, whether for Park Avenue or for the other side of the tracks, to hinder such contamination?

It is one thing to sound the alarm. Something else, when the assembly foregathers, to have nothing to say. □

WHOM ARE THE CONSERVATIVES BACKING?

NEW YORK, APRIL 20

THE QUESTION is everywhere being asked, Whom are the conservatives backing for President in 1988? It is asked only because no one knows the answer. It isn't as it was in 1964, when the answer was as simple as AuH_20, as the bumperstickers for Goldwater came affectionately to designate that 18-karat-gold candidate. In 1968, conservatives were split. The majority had plighted their troth to Nixon, not expecting a serious challenge from Reagan, who, indeed, didn't formally enter the race until after he had arrived in Miami. In 1976 there was never any question: Reagan was the choice, even over an incumbent Republican President. And again in 1980, the conservatives were with Reagan.

The great political surprise of the conservative season has been the failure of Congressman Jack Kemp to establish his title to the succession. He says the right things, he is a good speaker, a bright and likable man, perfect age, exotic background, fine family: but for some reason he has not yet been passed the torch. This doesn't mean that it will not happen in the days ahead. But the last national poll published showed him with 5 per cent backing among Republican voters, less than 1 per cent of whom declared themselves immovable on the subject. By contrast, Vice President Bush got 33 per cent backing, with 8 per cent resolute. And Senator Bob Dole got 19 per cent, with 3 per cent resolute. The big surprise was General Al Haig, who came in ahead of Kemp—with 7 per cent preference, 2 per cent resolute.

Now, not every Republican voter is a conservative, but, outside the South, all

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conservatives are Republicans. If, to use round figures, we think of half the Republicans as self-declared conservatives, then the figures above are all the more surprising in respect of Kemp. George Bush, as the presumptive heir, has divided support among conservatives. There are those who think of him as the able coadjutor of Ronald Reagan, whose policies Mr. Bush is assumed to endorse. But there are others who think of him as the man who challenged Ronald Reagan in 1980 and, in his heart, still thinks of Reaganomics as voodoo. Meanwhile he struggles with that awful burden of the Vice Presidency, which is the Siamese-twin problem. Hubert Humphrey was one of the most spontaneous political figures in recent history, but by the time he had served Lyndon Johnson as Vice President for three years he was reduced in the public mind to sheer amorphousness: Every time you sought out Hubert Humphrey, the shadow of LBJ got in the way. Bush has this problem, and it is not his fault that he is indistinct in the ideological spectrum. Moreover, it will be a while before he establishes positions clearly his own, irrespective of whether they exactly, or only tangentially, reflect those of Ronald Reagan.

Bob Dole raises confused and confusing questions among conservatives. They think of him as temperamentally a conservative, but of a pre-supply-side, high-tax school. They point to the big leadership he gave to the 1982 tax bill, paying not much heed to Ronald Reagan's own sponsorship of that bill. They acknowledge that he has been a faithful representative of Reagan while serving as Republican leader in the Senate. They just don't seem quite to know what to think about Bob Dole.

The Reverend Pat Robertson (score: 3 per cent, with 1 per cent resolute) has said everything conservatives wish to hear, but there is the indisposition to believe that any minister is, ultimately, a serious candidate. Senator Paul Laxalt is affectionately regarded as a True Believer, but his score on the last poll (he has not yet announced, bear in mind) is 3 per cent, with 2 per cent resolute. And Governor du Pont, who in almost every respect says what conservatives wish to hear, is burdened primarily by his low count: 1 per cent, with 0 per cent resolute.

I am myself much indebted to Professor John Kenneth Galbraith for a formulation he gave when asked several years ago whom he was backing for the Presidency on the Democratic ticket. His answer: "The leftwardmost viable candidate." The operative word there is, of course, "viable." I doff my hat to Professor Galbraith and buy whole his formula, with only the single substitution of rightwardmost for leftwardmost.

Where will American conservatives finally consolidate? Inevitably, in the absence of a leader with the personal backing of a Goldwater or a Reagan, behind the candidate who proves viable. How do you define "viable"? Waal, it means you have to entice the voters of Iowa, New Hampshire, and ten Southern states. □

POST-MOSCOW BLUES

NEW YORK, APRIL 24

It will not be clear for an indecent interval what exactly happened in Moscow, but it is not encouraging to reflect on the situation, psychological and strategic, as it stands.

Although George Shultz said in his press interview the kind of thing we should be saying (he stressed the aggressive nature of Soviet arrangements and even asked that the war in Afghanistan be ended—he was cut off when he mentioned that the Soviet Union had 120,000 soldiers in Afghanistan), it is we who are left with the diplomatic burden. This is explained as follows: The Soviets have suggested removing some classes of short-range missiles as part of a corollary agreement to removing the intermediate-range missiles. George Shultz said: Well, er, before we do that, we will need to consult with our allies. Gorbachev says scornfully, Ah! So your NATO allies are not in favor of denuclearizing Europe? What a pity!

Now this has the effect of making such as Helmut Kohl of West Germany, François Mitterrand of France, and Margaret Thatcher of Great Britain sound like Strangeloves who wish to polish their nuclear arsenals, while the Soviet Union is the grand friend of progressive disarmament. The NATO leaders are in fact concerned with the security of Europe, and with the preservation of the alliance with the United States. But their political position is weakened as they try to explain to fractiously pacifistic left-wing parties why it would be a mistake to do away with all nuclear missiles. In such situations as these, nobody thinks to ponder the old question of comparative advantage. Pre Moscow, Europe was armed with Pershing and cruise missiles, with more slotted to come in. The Soviet Union would never begin a war against Western Europe with Pershing missiles there. Post Moscow, they are scheduled to be withdrawn.

Leaving the Soviet Union with what? Retired General Pierre Gallois of the French Air Force, who was responsible for French nuclear strategy, reminds us in the *Wall Street Journal* that the intermediate-range missiles the Soviet Union is now prepared to withdraw aren't of very much use when fired westward. "SS-20 warheads equal four Hiroshimas. The jet stream blows from west to east, and those huge missiles—which have to be huge because they are inaccurate [General Gallois is talking here also about the SS-18s]—would create massive fallout, which would blow back over Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. It would be like a hundred Chernobyls. But their latest generation of missiles, the SS-21s, 22s, and 23s, similar to your Pershings, have, on the contrary, pinpoint accuracy, and can do the same job with as little as one kiloton, instead of, say, 150 kilotons."

The general went on to make the point that no conceivable European conventional rearmament could serve to compensate for the little killer bombs. There is not much point, he says, in creating a fresh division or a fresh airfield if a surprise attack by one-kiloton weapons, which would land on their targets five to six minutes after being fired, would destroy that division or airfield.

So here we have one strategic analyst arguing that by all means the United States should not only insist on the removal of the smaller weapons, but should decline to make the deal involving the intermediate weapons unless the smaller weapons are included as well. And to do this, notwithstanding the idealistic high talk of Gorbachev, would take a very long time. Why? Because these weapons are integral to the deployment of the Red Army, and great disarray would result from any effort to prescind them from the general arrangements now in force. That, together with immense opposition from the army itself.

But what is wrong with delay? the general asks. The only meaning of a delay would be that the United States would not have a diplomatic event locked up in time for the next elections. But meanwhile, Europe is safe: as long as the (indestructible) Pershings are in place.

Democracy is a demanding mistress. She wants to be flattered and pampered every day, in every way. Right now she wants a reduction in arms. The last time she wanted a reduction in arms, we gave it to her in SALT I—and 15 years later, the Soviet Union has nine thousand more nuclear warheads. If we could just keep that lady quiet for a while, and wait patiently. Wait for the rest of our lives, as required; wait until the Soviet Union recognizes that all those ruses are simply not going to work. Then Gorbachev—or his successor—will recognize that the kind of thing we are talking about is slave prisons in Cuba, the denial of freedom in Nicaragua, children's toys with explosives hidden in them in Afghanistan, the worldwide Gulag Archipelago: backed up by the hugest arsenal of weapons, nuclear and conventional, ever assembled. That is the objective. □

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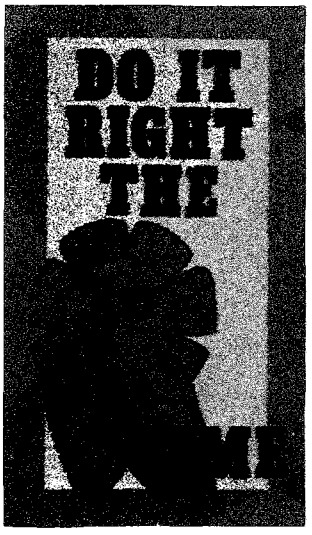

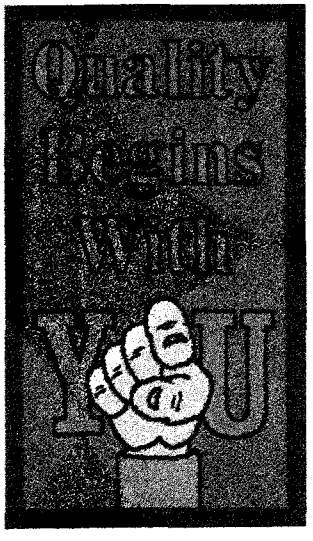

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EPES SARGENT:

On Henry Clay

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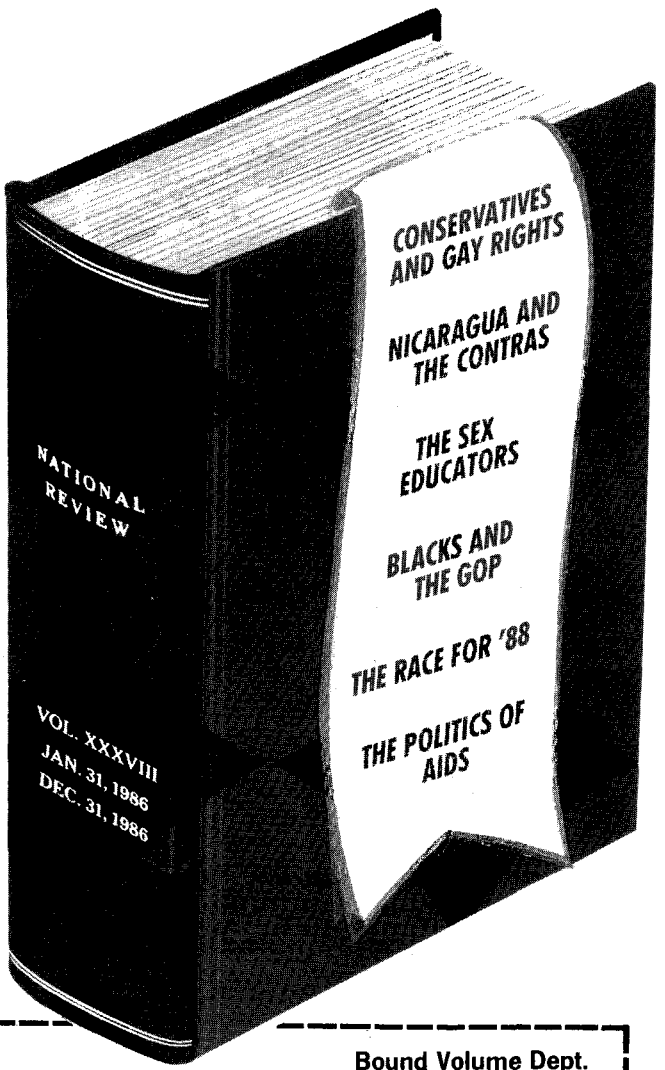

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TRANS-O-GRAM / KEM PUTNEY

DEFINITIONS

A. Vacation toy—or surfer's prom? (2 words)
B E A C H B A L L
91 188 6 56 144 113 81 37 20

B. Fish expert
I C T H _ O L O _ _
33 159 5 119 51 135 199 85 102 206
_ _ _
77 184 129

C. Supple
_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
200 55 10 133 101 208 70 84 26

D. A makeup artist had better pay this (2 words)
_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
163 175 50 32 3 212 83 181 90 134

E. Sea creature adept with balloons?
_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
185 124 24 209 71 39 142 155

F. Oarsman's abode?
_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
82 108 121 69 186 18 182 11

G. Member of a strange secret society?
_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
162 27 17 176 84 100 43 125 190

H. This maintenance worker is often high on the job (2 words)
W I N D O W W A S H
197 97 25 64 120 166 126 156 48 3
E R
76 15

I. Not one or the other
N E I T H E R
128 201 52 93 73 149 12

J. One kind of writer
_ _ _ _ _
172 140 49 158 72

K. Regard
_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
36 169 112 211 4 148 96 16 78 54

L. Pattern of flow
_ _ _ _ _ _
167 105 92 45 198 80

M. Derivative of German, Hebrew, and Slavic
_ _ _ _ _ _ _
150 191 65 23 168 13 130

N. City on Long Island
_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
94 213 29 67 174 132 114 14 151

O. *Michael Caine* role
_ _ _ _ _
57 44 165 116 196

P. Earth movement
R O T A T I O N
187 164 104 21 154 127 34 63

Q. Chubby Checker's subject
_ _ _ _ _
58 38 28 118 68

R. Religious zealot
_ O _ _ _ _ _
103 62 146 207 40 170 9

S. Pen name of Gertrude Franklin Horn
U _ _ _ _ _ _ _
178 157 46 95 7 192 74 171

T. Western state
I D A H O
59 98 173 177 109

U. U.S. Marine
L E A T N E R N E C
123 66 79 2 41 210 179 31 145 86
K
110

V. The barefoot don't need this
_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
75 203 161 106 53 193 141 205 131

W. Math function
_ _ _ _ _ _ _ _
8 136 189 111 202 152 87 61

X. Slum
G H E T T O
115 195 30 143 180 60

Y. Confused
_ _ _ _ _ _
122 138 99 19 47 153

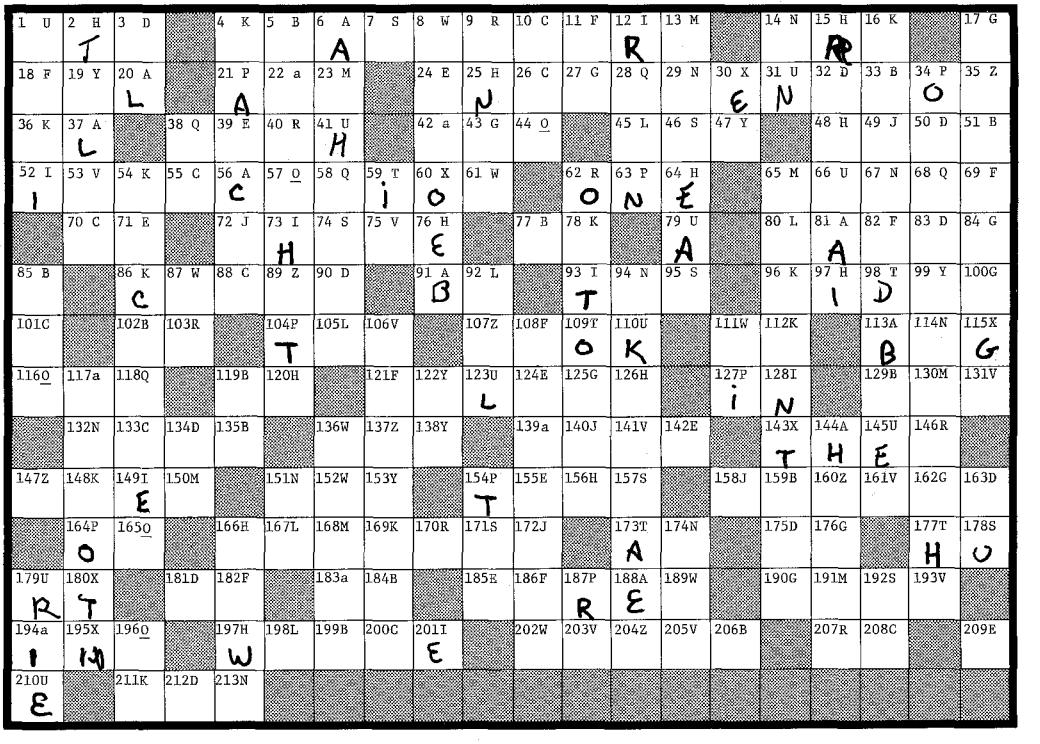
Z. Restrain
_ _ _ _ _ _ _
137 35 160 89 107 204 147

a. Descriptive of Esther Williams's pursuits
_ _ _ _ _ _
117 42 194 183 22 139

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words (above) from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and title of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definitions on the authority of *Webster's New International Dictionary*, Second Edition.

See page 59 for solution to last Trans-O-Gram.



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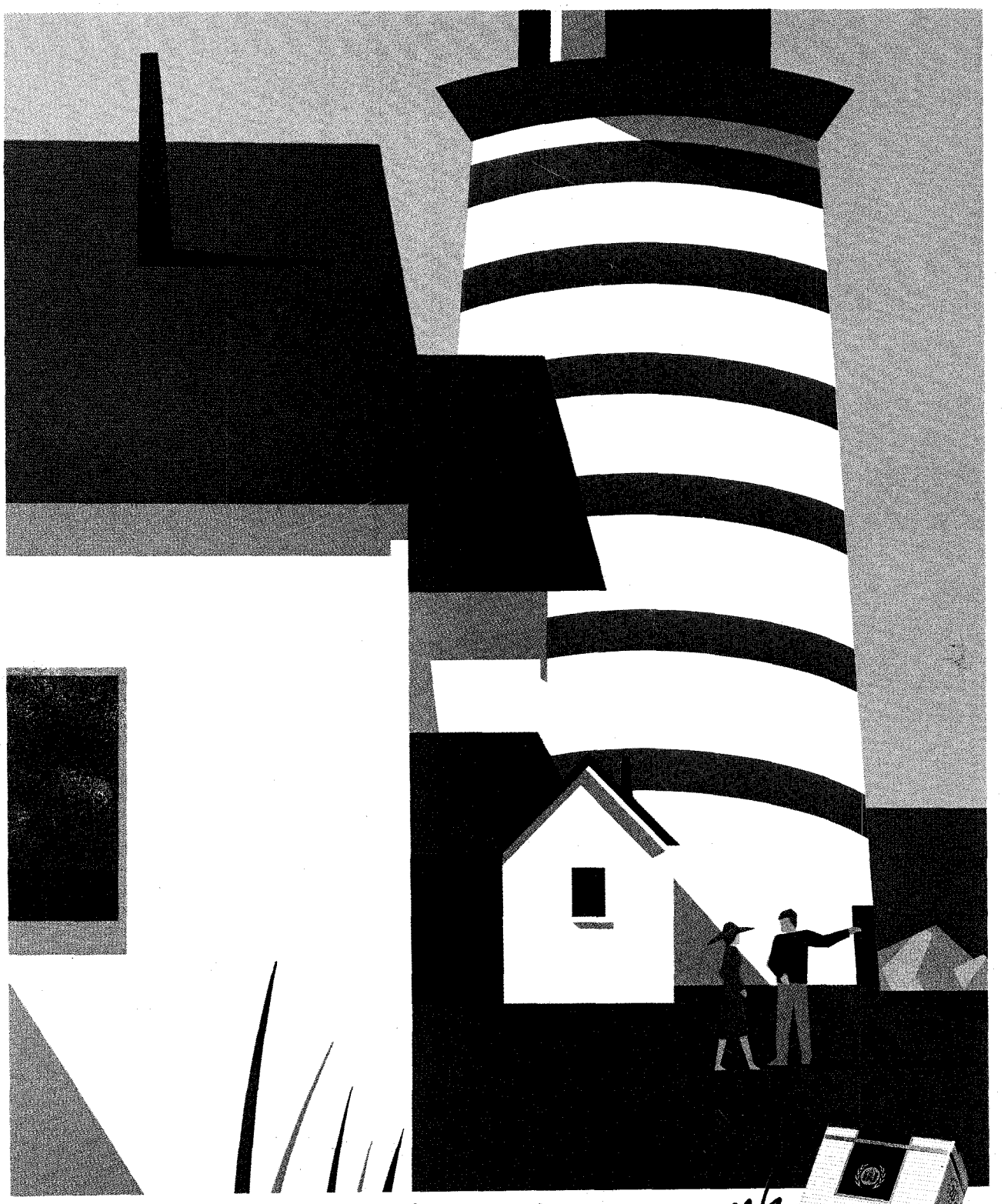

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